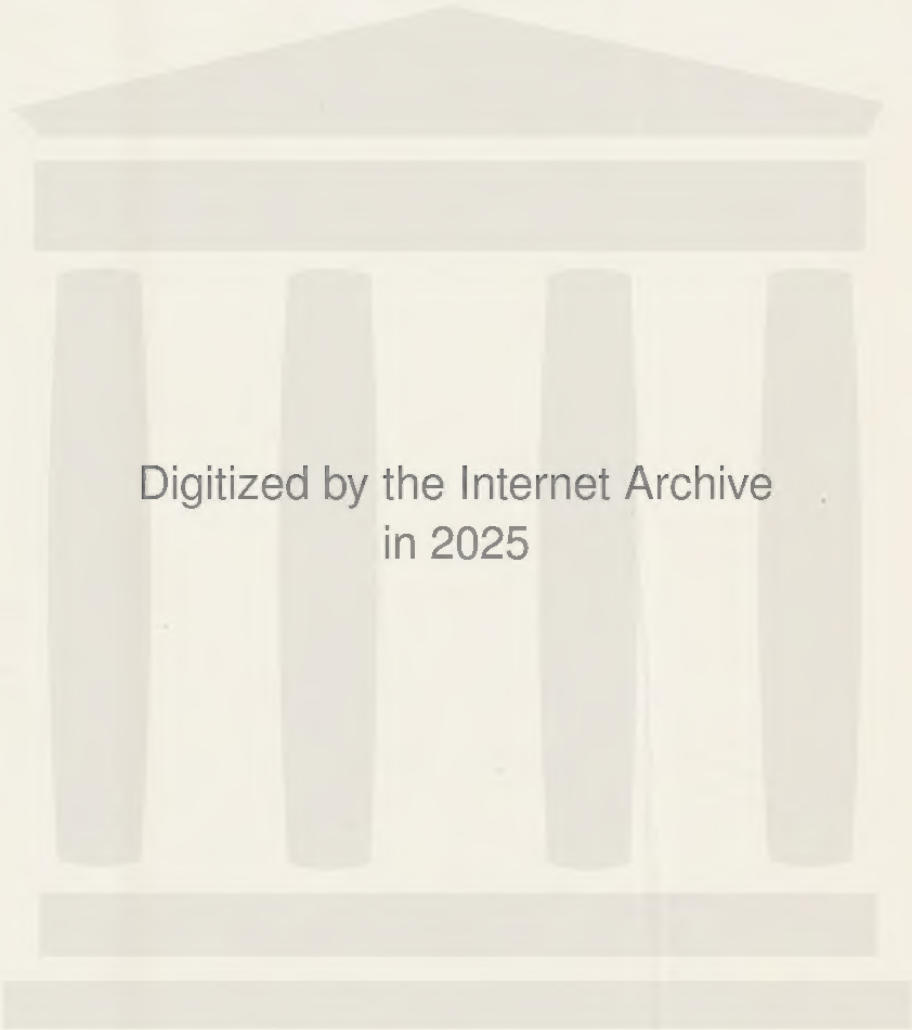
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THE HUGUENOTS:

A SKETCH OF

Their History from the Beginning of the Reformation to the Death of Louis XIV.

BY

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"*Ils ont décapité la France, les bourreaux!*"

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TO

LILIAN HOOPER

THIS HISTORY OF THE HUGUENOTS

IS

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

THE history of the Huguenots divides itself naturally into two periods; the former, extending from the beginning of the Reformation movement to the death of Louis XIV., is the one during which the religious dissenters had to fight their way step by step against the almost overwhelming tide of public opinion. The latter epoch, commencing with the regency of the Duke of Orléans, shows us, on the other hand, the slow but steady progress of liberal ideas moulding the mind of the nation, and at last restoring to the Protestants their position on the roll of French citizens.

The first of these two periods forms, strictly speaking, the subject of the present volume; but in order to make our work more complete, I have thought it necessary to give in the concluding

chapter a brief sketch of the history of French Protestantism subsequently to the death of *le grand monarque*.

Notes and illustrative quotations were, of course, quite inconsistent with the plan and scope of this little work; I must, therefore, be satisfied with referring the reader for further details to M. Merle d'Aubigné's "Histoire de la Réformation au temps de Calvin," M. de Félice's "Histoire des Protestants de France," Mr. Smiles's "Huguenots," and Messrs. Haag's "La France Protestante."

GUSTAVE MASSON.

Harrow.

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THE HUGUENOTS.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO CHARLES IX. (1521—1560).

The Sixteenth Century—The French Court and its Attitude towards the Reformers—Margaret of Navarre—The Poetry of the Reformation—The Church—First Martyrs—Foreign Policy of Francis I.—Calvin—Controversial Writers—Montmorency—Massacre of the Vaudois—Reigns of Henry II. and Francis II.—The Protestant Leaders—The Guises—The Amboise Conspiracy—Character of L'Hôpital.

The sixteenth century was an epoch of universal ferment; the society of the middle ages had done its work, and the time had come when it had to make way for a new order of things. In the sphere of religion, of politics, of literature, and of art an indescribable sensation of uneasiness prevailed throughout the civilised world, and France, quite as much as Germany, was feeling the influences of that strange upheaving to which the name of *Renaissance* has so appropriately been given. Scholasticism, utterly worn out by the senseless disputes of the last representatives of the Thomists and Scotists, had completely lost its hold upon the multitude; and whilst many a soul longing for rest fled from

the dogmatism of the college of the Sorbonne to the cloister of St. Victor, in others the spirit of inquiry was asserting its rights, and thinkers began to doubt whether Aristotle really possessed the key of knowledge. For more than two hundred years it had been evident that the political community also was fast undergoing a transformation; feudalism, as it shone forth in the pages of Froissart and the brilliant poems of Charles d'Orléans, seemed a sad falling off from the imposing state of society pourtrayed by Villehardouin and Joinville; the monarchical principle was establishing itself more and more vigorously day by day, and it was apparent that the statecraft of which Louis XI., as described in the pages of Philip de Commines, had been, perhaps, the most complete embodiment, would soon prove more than a match for the last representatives of feudal chivalry. Literature was not slow in following the general movement; the "Cymbalum Mundi" of Bonaventure Despériers, and the "Gargantua" of François Rabelais denounced to the scorn of the whole world the pretensions of a Church which had forfeited all claims to respect, and it became a serious question whether an ecclesiastical system which neither a St. Bernard, a Gerson, a Tauler, nor a Wickliffe could reform was worth reforming at all.

Our business here is simply with the religious side of this revolution, and whatever remarks we have to make on literature and other kindred subjects will only be introduced so far as they touch upon the progress of the Reformation.

At the time when Luther first challenged the authority of the Pope, and nailed his ninety-five propositions on the church-door at Wittemberg, Francis I., the *roi chevalier*, had for two years occupied the throne of France. The desire for reform had made its way in the dominions of the Most Christian king as much as in Germany or in England; but the earliest leaders of the movement were strictly anxious to purify the Church of their fathers, not to separate themselves from it, and the pattern they proposed to themselves for imitation was rather Erasmus than Luther. With these first attempts are connected the names of Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux; Jacques Lefèvre, a native of Étaples, in Picardy; Guillaume Farel, and Gérard Roussel. Thus Meaux, the diocese which a century later was to be governed by the staunch Gallican Bossuet, had the honour of being the cradle of French Protestantism; and although neither Lefèvre d'Étaples nor the bishop had as yet the slightest thought of questioning the authority of the Church of Rome, much less of renouncing communion with it, yet, thanks to the translation of the Holy Scriptures made by the former, and gratuitously distributed by the latter, the new ideas were spreading rapidly from one end of the diocese to the other. We must bear in mind that the revival of religion to which we are now alluding was simply based upon the study of the Word of God, and did not participate in the aggressive character which marked the efforts of Louis de Berquin. This distinguished reformer, a native of Arras, after having studied the writings of Erasmus and Luther,

with the view of refuting them, became a convert to the principles of the Reformation, and translated into his native language, and circulated in the north of France the tracts and pamphlets (*livrets*) which his first idea was to criticise. Through the districts bordering upon Switzerland the new tenets penetrated into Dauphiné and the southern provinces; from Germany they found their way to Lorraine and the countship of Montbéliard; the whole population soon became leavened with them, and though making every allowance for the natural curiosity which leads many people to take up novelties, wise men had become aware that a great religious revolution had been brought about, and that the Church of Rome was gradually losing its hold upon the population of France.

The question now was whether, in the struggle which must necessarily ensue, the people would find themselves supported by their rulers, and whether, as had been the case in Germany and in England, the government, actuated by political motives, would take the opportunity of throwing off the yoke of the Romish Church. Francis I., his mother Louise of Savoy, and his sister Margaret were supposed, if not to incline towards the doctrines of the Reformers, to condemn, at any rate, many of the errors of the Church; and some unexpected step on the part either of the Emperor of Germany or of the Pope himself might determine the king to follow in the footsteps of Henry VIII. of England. With reference to Margaret, no doubt was possible. An accomplished scholar, passionately fond of intellectual pursuits, and having by the diligent

study of the Bible accustomed herself to form an independent opinion on religious questions and ecclesiastical problems, she openly sided with Guillaume Briçonnet and his zealous coadjutors, and did her very best to bring over both her mother and brother to her own views. During the first outburst of indignation which the preaching of Lefèvre d'Étaples and the controversial publications of Louis de Berquin called forth on the part of the French clergy, she generously took under her protection the bold Reformers who had ventured to attack a power hitherto deemed unassailable, and she even appointed as her chaplain a certain Antoine Papillon, known to be guilty of having translated into French some of Luther's popular works. The small town of Nérac, where she habitually resided, was at first the centre of the literary movement produced by the combined influences of the Reformation and the Renaissance. It represented for the free-thinkers of the sixteenth century what the Hôtel de Rambouillet was during the seventeenth for the *Précieux* and *Précieuses*, and what Coppet was under the reign of Napoleon for the independent spirits who had not condescended to bow before the idol of despotism. We say *free-thinkers* because, although the majority of the distinguished men who gathered round Margaret of Navarre belonged to the Reformation movement, yet not a few had in reality shaken off the yoke of the Papacy without advancing further than a position of negation and scepticism. Dumoulin, Boaistuau, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Sainte-Marthe, Péletier, and Bonaventure Despériers were the most

conspicuous members of that group; and it could scarcely be said of either Boaistuau or of the author of the "Cymbalum Mundi" that they had strong religious convictions. As for Margaret herself, she has been appreciated, as might easily be believed, in the most different manner, according as her critics belonged to the Protestant or to the Catholic faith; the former considering her to be little short of an angel, the latter ascribing to her all the vices of which human nature is capable. The truth is to be found, here as in most cases, half-way. Though she was serious and ascetic in her deportment as Queen of Navarre, it can hardly be denied that as Duchess of Alençon she led a somewhat dissipated life, to say the least of it; in fine, to quote the witty remark of a critic, Margaret seemed always to be oscillating between Boccaccio and Thomas à Kempis.

The works of the Queen of Navarre include compositions of various kinds, the best-known being a collection of novelettes in the style of the "Decameron." It was to have treated, like its model, of a period of ten days; but the book was never completed, and as it stops at the end of the seventh day, it received the name of the "Heptameron." "In this work," says an historian, "she vents her contemptuous scorn upon husbands, though she herself was married; against monks, though she was an ardent devotee of religion; against lawyers and doctors, though she was a queen. And her shrewdest satire of all is unconsciously pointed against herself, for she stands revealed to us as a very woman, the rivals for whose favour are

God and the Devil, and who affords to neither of these more than a short and coquettish glance." Another well-known production of this accomplished princess is a *recueil* of poems which were edited by Sylvius (Simon de la Haye), *valet-de-chambre* to the Queen, under the title, "Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, très illustre royne de Navarre" (1547); one of the pieces of the *recueil*, the "Miroir de l'âme pécheresse," had been printed separately in 1541, and was translated into English (1548) by Queen Elizabeth. The style of Margaret of Navarre's prose compositions is natural and agreeable; her poems, on the contrary, are of a decidedly mediocre kind: they are totally deficient in imagination.

By an easy transition we are led from the sister of Francis I. to say a few words about the poets of the Reformation, who boasted of some notable representatives, and on the whole deserve not to be entirely forgotten. We cannot reckon Clément Marot amongst the converts to the new doctrines merely because he was a friend and *protégé* of Margaret of Navarre, and because he found himself in the Châtelet for having eaten flesh in Lent; but his translation of the Psalms did much to popularise the principles of the Reformation, and was quite enough to excite the wrath of the Sorbonne, always on the watch to pounce upon heretics and send them to the stake. Although he professed himself a Huguenot, his zeal was of a most lukewarm kind, and he had too much of the courtier in his disposition to show great enthusiasm in religious matters. Dubartas

belongs to a later epoch than Clément Marot. He had adopted with eagerness the literary code of the Pleiad, and had in his poem on the creation of the world ("La Divine Sepmaine") turned his genius to such excellent account that he became almost as popular in England as in France. Published in 1579, the *magnum opus* of Dubartas went in the course of six years through thirty editions, and has been honoured in these latter days by the praise of no less a judge than Goethe. The passage which the author of "Faust" has selected as a justification of his eulogies is the beginning of the seventh canto, and it really deserves the admiration of all lovers of true poetry; but Dubartas too often indulges in puerilities, and endeavours to produce effect by alliteration, imitative harmony, Latinisms, Hellenisms, and all the artificial resources which Ronsard and his disciples had made so fashionable. D'Anchères, better known under the anagram of Jean de Schelandre, was a contemporary of Dubartas. He distinguished himself as a dramatist, and his tragedy, *Tyr et Sidon*, in two *journées* of five acts each, seems, by its length at any rate, an anticipation of M. Alexandre Dumas' "Three Musqueteers."

To return to Margaret; both Francis I. and Louise of Savoy began by joining with her in defending the Gospellers against those whom the Queen-mother called "white, black, grey, smoky, variously-coloured hypocrites;" but this act of liberality on their part, not being the result of any deep-seated convictions, only proved of a transitory nature, and the state of

political affairs was for a time fatal to the champions of the new doctrines.

The epithet "Lutheran," although held in execration by the clergy, had, on the contrary, up to the year 1525, been received with favour and even proudly owned by a great proportion of the commonalty; but in that year it became suddenly most unpopular. Was it not in the name of Luther and under the title of his disciples that the Anabaptists were ravaging Germany? The provinces of Lorraine and Champagne were now threatened by this new invasion of barbarians: did the Lutherans of those districts mean to cast in their lot with the fanatic adherents of Munzer and Carlostadt? Would they cling to a new form of religion which had so sadly identified itself with murder and pillage? Another cause contributed very effectually to check the progress of the Reformation movement. Francis I. had entered upon a desperate struggle, the object of which was to crush the House of Austria; and after the disaster of Pavia, in 1525, it was more than ever necessary for him to stop all divisions within the kingdom, and to knit together as closely as possible the bonds which had so long existed between the Church and the State. Bishops, parliaments, the University of Paris, the theological college of the Sorbonne, the Pope himself loudly protested against the toleration, or, to speak more correctly, the protection which the Court had granted to heretics; it was even suggested that the inquisition proscribed by Philip-the-Fair and his immediate successors should be permanently re-established, and that

the Lutherans should be destroyed as the Albigenses had been during the thirteenth century. The king of France was not strong enough, politically speaking, to turn a deaf ear to the appeals of the Court of Rome, and although his intellectual sympathies, backed by the noble efforts of his sister Margaret, led him to restrain as far as he could the zeal of his parliaments and his clergy, he was at last compelled to yield. Louis de Berquin was one of the first of a long list of martyrs whose biographies, written by the printer Jean Crespin, form the *Acta Sanctorum* of the reformed churches. The natural result of persecution soon followed. Zeal turned into fanaticism; bills attacking the Papacy in the most violent manner were found posted up even on the walls of the Louvre; stone images of the Virgin were knocked down and destroyed; and acts which could not but be regarded as sacrilegious by Roman Catholics were repeatedly committed, especially in Paris. The anger of the king knew no bounds. A contemporary memoir-writer, who jotted down day by day the principal events which came under his notice, has left us a terrible account of the reprisals exercised upon the Protestants by the king's authority. A poor paralytic, in whose room copies of some Lutheran placard had been found, was burnt to death; a workman guilty of binding heretical pamphlets, and a woman convicted of eating flesh on Fridays and Saturdays were punished in the same manner; the *Christandins* (such was the name given to the Reformers) were sent to the torture by batches: in less than six months (from

November, 1534 to May, 1535) one hundred and two sentences of condemnation were passed in Paris alone, and out of these twenty-seven were carried out.

Francis I. had at that time a difficult part to play. We have already said that his anxiety to destroy the power of the Emperor Charles V. had led him to court by all means in his power the favour of the Papacy; but from exactly the same motive he had concluded an alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany and the Sultan of Constantinople; and Europe beheld the curious spectacle of the Most Christian king holding out the right hand of fellowship to schismatic rulers and to the commander of the faithful, whilst at the same time he professed to help the successor of St. Peter in putting down heresy. It was very natural that the German Protestants and the cantons of Switzerland should send to their French ally vehement remonstrances about the treatment inflicted upon their fellow-religionists on the other side of the Rhine by a monarch who had in the first instance not only tolerated, but even encouraged them. In vain did Francis I. endeavour to show that the persons whose death he had sanctioned were Anabaptists, rebels, despisers of dignities, and enemies of all authority; the argument was untenable, and the celebrated Calvin undertook to refute it in a work which is now justly considered, not only a masterpiece of discussion, but one of the grandest monuments of French literature during the sixteenth century. We shall take this opportunity of giving some

account both of the reformer himself and of his early fellow-labourers in the field of theological polemics.

Born at Noyon, in Picardy, in July 1509, John Calvin had been destined to the Church from a very early age. He was provided with a living when only twelve years old, and became curate at Martiville (1525) and soon afterwards at Pont-l'Évêque (1527); he went to Paris for the purpose of finishing his studies, and afterwards attended law lectures at Orléans and at Bourges. In 1532 he published a commentary on Seneca's "de Clementia;" but his religious opinions having brought him into suspicion, he was obliged to take refuge at Nérac, where, as we have said, Margaret of Angoulême dispensed the most generous hospitality to all the leading reformers. In 1534 he left France, and it was at Bâle that he brought out (1535 or 1536) the "Christianæ Religionis Institutio," which may be regarded as the first sketch of his famous "Institution Chrétienne;" he translated it himself into French (1541), and it received its definite shape only in 1558. The extreme boldness of Calvin's language was well calculated to make Francis reflect seriously on the course he was pursuing; for notwithstanding the severity which characterised the introductory epistle, there was no insult or abuse in it—it was merely a dignified appeal on behalf of the rights of conscience, and the author's final wish was that God would establish the king's throne in justice and his seat in equity.

Our space will not allow us to notice the numerous

works which have immortalised the name of Calvin. It will be sufficient to remark that the "Institution Chrétienne" is, as the enunciation of a system of Church government, the most remarkable production of modern times. Like Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," it bears the stamp of a pre-eminently logical mind; and the style, destitute of all the adventitious ornaments which were so fashionable with the *littérateurs* of the sixteenth century, derives its stern beauty from its intimate union with truth. An under-current of indignation runs, we grant, through the preface, but it is the indignation of those whose consciences have been reduced to the most ignominious slavery, and who are the more anxious to recover their freedom because their tyrants have, for the most part, neither morality nor Christian charity to recommend them. If Calvin's style deserves the epithet *triste*, which some critics have applied to it, such a designation should be considered as implying real praise, because the vindication of liberty and of the claims of conscience are inconsistent with a meretricious kind of writing, with figures of speech and with rhetorical tricks. At the time of which we are now treating, a time of intellectual ferment and of energy which would brook no restraint whatever, there were two distinct ways of exposing the errors and denouncing the scandals of the Church of Rome: the one was banter, satire, and ridicule; the other consisted in the more dignified use of argument and solemn remonstrance. Henri Estienne, in his "Apologie pour Hérodote," and Pierre Viret, in his

"Instruction Chrestienne," had recourse to the former method; Calvin adopted the latter. Amongst the *littérateurs* of the early French Reformation we have just named the most remarkable. Pierre Viret could not have enjoyed the popularity which fell to his lot had he not been *par excellence* a pamphlet-writer and a satirist. But then he had assumed the useful character of an educator, and his "Instruction Chrétienne," the best of his works, was avowedly composed with the idea of rendering accessible to the common people the doctrines which Calvin delivered in abstruse language to the pupils of the Academy of Geneva or to the members of his congregation. If we have one fault to find with Viret, it is his uniform tendency towards irony and banter. Not only does he often dramatise his subject by adopting the form of a dialogue, but he also indulges too frequently in caricature, reminding us of some of the "Colloquies" of Erasmus, or of Ulrich von Hutten's pamphlets. The same vein of humour runs through the writings of Henri Estienne (better known under his Latinised name of Stephanus), especially his "Apologie pour Hérodote," a most amusing squib, originally brought out, in 1566, as the preface to an edition of the Greek historian. Is Herodotus worthless because his history teems with absurdities, and because he retails to us anecdotes of the most improbable character? No, answers Henri Estienne; and there is no wickedness, no crime recorded by him which does not find more than its match in the annals of the Catholic Church, especially during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The

"Pantagruel of Geneva," as Estienne was called, has done much better service to the triumph of truth than by collecting a number of scurrilous stories, namely, by editing some of the masterpieces of Greek and Latin literature; and by his learning as well as his industry he won for himself a distinguished place in a family, so many members of which were ornaments to the cause both of Protestantism and of elegant scholarship.

"If there are any," said Calvin, "who use the liberty of the Gospel as a cloak for their perverseness, the laws and edicts of the State can reach them; but let not the Word of God be blasphemed on account of the misdeeds of the wicked." It would have been well if the king of France had acted on the Reformer's advice, and stopped the fierceness of the persecution which was extending from Paris throughout the length and breadth of the land. He was now, unfortunately, committed to a policy of terror, and the extreme Catholics were constantly urging him on to the only measures which, in their opinion, could restore the unity of the Church, and save France both from the ambitious designs of Germany, and from revolutionary outbreaks at home. On the side of Reform and of a liberal system of policy he found his sister, the most intelligent amongst his subjects, the ablest diplomatists, and the principal leaders of the aristocracy; he had, on the other hand, to take into account the arguments, the influence, and the energy of the Queen Dowager Louise of Savoy and of the fascinating Diana of Poitiers, to say nothing of the Sorbonne,

headed by the overbearing Beda and supported by the blind fanaticism of the Parisian rabble. Even at that early period in the history of the sixteenth century, the mob which formed so important an element in the population of the metropolis showed itself as usual to be ignorant and careless of the best interests and the only sound policy of the country. Thus it had previously appeared in the days of the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, thus it subsequently distinguished itself during the brief triumph of the League, the mock revolutions of the Fronde, and later still in the Reign of Terror—and thus it now came forth, stirred up by intolerant caprice, incapable both of reasoning and of listening calmly to the voice of reason.

The general who at this time represented the *active* side of Catholic fervour, and who was ready to place his sword at the disposal of the majority, was the constable Anne de Montmorency—"the brutal devotee," as an able historian has called him, "the typical fanatic of ignorance and re-action." History has left on record the terrible manner in which he put down the insurrection which broke out in 1548 against the salt-tax, which weighed with unusual severity on the people of Guyenne, Angoumois, and Saintonge. It is no excuse to say of Montmorency that he paid the greatest attention to the discipline of his soldiers, and that he prevented them from committing the worst excesses. His violence has never been denied, and contemporary memoirs abound with proofs of his ferocity. When he came upon the scene of any great confusion and disorder, "Go, hang me

such an one," he would say; "up with this rascal to the topmost branch of yonder tree; despatch this fellow with pike and arquebuse, at once, right before my eyes; hew down all these wretches who are bold enough to hold such a rookery as this against the king's majesty; burn me yonder village, and light up for a quarter of a mile all around a blaze which shall be seen everywhere." Such is the kind of soldiers which civil wars produce—*condottiere*, who know no authority but that of the sword, and whose ablest representative is Blaise de Monluc, the distinguished memoir-writer.

The massacre of the Vaudois in Provence was one of the most appalling results of the spirit of intolerance which then prevailed, and the revolting circumstances by which it was accompanied shocked even the Roman Catholics themselves. Originally settled in the villages of Piedmont, the Vaudois had retained the faith of their forefathers, and set the brightest example of industry, peacefulness, and purity of life. From Piedmont they had extended in time to the neighbouring districts of Provence (now the department of Vaucluse), and occupied Cabrières, Mérindol, Lourmarin, and other adjacent villages. As might naturally be supposed, these inoffensive colonists eagerly adopted the doctrines of the Reformation, and thus incurred the hatred of the clergy. By a decree dated November 18th, 1540, the Parliament of Aix ordered the destruction of Mérindol, condemned thirty-two of the principal inhabitants to be burnt to death, and pronounced a sentence of expulsion upon

the rest. For the space of five years this monstrous decision had remained a dead letter, thanks to the king's personal interference; but at last Francis I. was led to believe that the Vaudois were really disaffected subjects, bent upon stirring up the spirit of civil war in the south of France, and meditating to give efficient aid to the enemies of the realm. The chief instigator of the persecution was a certain Jean Mesnier, baron d'Oppède, afterwards president of the Parliament of Aix. Through the Cardinal de Tournon he succeeded in obtaining an order for the destruction of the Vaudois, and lost no time in carrying out his detestable plan. We shall not attempt to describe the scenes which took place in this merciless expedition. The principle of the Roman Church that no oaths or promises are binding in dealing with heretics was scrupulously observed, and it is not too much to say that a whole population of honest citizens were treated like a settlement taken by a band of savages. Besides the unfortunate victims who were put to the sword or burned alive, two hundred and fifty-five perished after the massacre at the hand of the executioner, and about seven hundred men were sent to the galleys. Finally, a proclamation was made that all individuals convicted of harbouring those heretics who were still at large should suffer death; a threat which so terrified the few who might have possessed sufficient humanity to afford shelter to the miserable fugitives, that they closed their hearts and their homes against them, and only a mere remnant succeeded in effecting their escape to Geneva and the Swiss territories.

Twenty-two towns and villages were annihilated: such crops and timber as could not be destroyed by fire were torn up by the roots, and the flourishing district which had so long been the garden of Provence was in a few short days converted into a desolate waste.

It is reported that Francis I. at last felt pangs of remorse at having sanctioned these atrocities; and, on his dying bed, recommended his successor to have the whole case reviewed and made the subject of a serious investigation. Not only was the massacre of the most horrible character, but it was also, from the judicial point of view, decidedly illegal, for the Chancellor Olivier had never thought fit either to present to the king the decree of the Parliament of Aix, or to affix to it the seal of the State. Henry II. obeyed his father's injunctions. In 1547 D'Oppède and his accomplices were sent to prison, and a long trial took place. The Parliament of Paris, however, refused to condemn their *confrères* of Aix, and the defendants were acquitted.

The new king, like his father, allowed himself to be led astray by his extravagance and his love of pleasure. In a very short time he squandered the four hundred thousand gold crowns which Francis I. had saved for the purpose of carrying on the war in Germany, and he abandoned the government of the state to the Guises, the Montmorencys, and his mistress, Diana of Poitiers. In the meanwhile the Reformation was rapidly gaining ground in France. Far from being confined to the artisans, the students,

and the lower classes of the population, the new faith had found adherents even amongst the councillors of the Parliament of Paris, and some of the nobility were strongly suspected of leaning towards the principles of Lutheranism.

After the signing of the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis between England, France, and Spain, in 1559, a double marriage had been concluded with a view of cementing the alliance between the two latter countries. Elizabeth of France, eldest daughter of Henry II., married the King of Spain, and Margaret his sister was given away to Philibert Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy. Thus, free from all complications abroad, Henry II. resolved upon doing his best to put down heresy, and the Guises actually advised him to avail himself of the opportunity offered by the ceremonies of the marriages, for the purpose of sending half a dozen councillors to the stake as Lutherans, and thus proving to the King of Spain that he did not mean to remain behind him in his zeal for the interests of religion. When, at a sitting of the court of Parliament, Henry II. insisted upon the members publicly deliberating in his presence on the nature of the punishments to be inflicted for the crime of heresy, and on their naming the persons who might be thought deserving of punishment, several councillors protested most energetically against a system of justice which let adulterers escape scatheless, whilst persons of acknowledged piety and unimpeachable virtue were sent to death; Anne du Bourg, son of a late chancellor of France, was the chief spokesman on this occasion.

The king, wild with rage, ordered him to be confined in the Bastille, and burnt alive after an interval of six days; but his own death, which took place at a tournament, prevented him from enjoying the revenge he had hoped to wreak upon a magistrate who had been bold enough to rebuke him openly.

The wars of religion began with the reign of Francis II., who was aged only sixteen when he assumed the crown; weak of body, and of small intellectual capacity, he seemed to be a ready tool for any ambitious and designing person who might succeed in getting the mastery over him; and therefore the Protestants were justified in hoping that for the same reason he would be accessible to wholesome advice, and grant to his subjects freedom of conscience. If we take a glance at the state of parties in 1559, we find the balance pretty equally divided between the princes of the House of Bourbon and the Guises. The treachery of the famous Constable in the reign of Francis I. had been a sad blot on the escutcheon of the former family; and its present representative, Antoine de Bourbon, did not seem of sufficient mettle to assert his dignity and position as first prince of the blood. Whether he inclined towards the Reformed faith or not was then a matter of doubt; his wife, Jeanne d'Albret, at any rate, had openly renounced the Roman Catholic faith, and his mother, Margaret of Navarre, as we have already seen, had given earnest tokens of her Huguenot sentiments by protecting and encouraging the early preachers of the Gospel; but he himself, ever "halting between two

opinions," did not or could not see of what importance promptness of decision and energy were to him in those troubled times. His brother Charles, Cardinal de Bourbon, was of course a decided opposer of all novelties in matters of religion, and thus it happened that the Protestants were already looking up to Louis, Prince of Condé, the youngest of the family, as their probable leader in the struggles which were close at hand. "We can hope nothing more but from God and our own efforts on the field of battle," said he. Condé was a man of undaunted courage, and sincerely attached to his religious opinions. By his side stood the celebrated Gaspard de Châtillon, Count of Coligny, Admiral of France, and a "worthy chief of the Huguenot party," as a contemporary writer has remarked, "on account of the good and great qualities that were in him; and forasmuch as it seemed that, more than any one else, he held very closely to the principles of his faith. By a severity which was natural and most becoming in him he kept under restraint, as a censor, the immoderate appetites of the young Protestant lords and gentlemen." Next to Coligny came his two brothers, Odet, Cardinal de Châtillon, and François de Châtillon, sire d'Andelot, captain-general of the French infantry. D'Andelot, had acquired much reputation as an able and experienced general; the cardinal, who, in spite of his calling, was accustomed to the vicissitudes of war, and trained in the science of politics and diplomacy, had given unequivocal proofs of his sympathy with the doctrines of the Reformation.

Although he had held the high ecclesiastical post of Count and Bishop of Beauvais, he had been bold enough to celebrate, in 1561, the Lord's Supper in his episcopal palace according to the Protestant rite, and on the 1st of December, 1564, attired in his cardinal's dress, he married Elizabeth de Hauteville, daughter of a gentleman of Normandy. These were the most illustrious of the Huguenot leaders; the best families in France had arrayed themselves on the same side—the Rohans, the La Rochefoucaulds, the Grammonts, the Princes de Porcien, the lords of Montgommery, of Piennes, of Soubise, of Genlis, of Mouy, of Esternay, besides a number of other nobles equally distinguished.

The princes of the House of Lorraine, considered as foreigners by the nation, had suddenly risen to influence chiefly through the military exploits of François, Duke of Guise, who won great and deserved popularity in the wars against Charles V., Emperor of Germany. Not only had he made himself conspicuous at the taking of Montmédy (1542), the defence of Saint-Dizier (1544), and the siege of Boulogne (1545), but he had also covered himself with glory in obliging the Emperor to retire from before Metz, after a long and desperate siege, with the loss of 30,000 men. Summoned from Italy in 1557, and created lieutenant-general, he had succeeded in less than a month in making himself master of Calais and of Thionville. Under these circumstances, it is not astonishing that he should have become for a time the idol of the people, and so risen in popular estimation as to be

regarded as the chief hope of France during the reign of a monarch too weak to assert his own will and to govern by himself. Unfortunately the popularity of the Duke of Guise was more than counterbalanced by the arrogance, the pretensions, and the selfishness of his brother, the Cardinal de Lorraine.

The Venetian ambassador Micheli, who has left some interesting records of his mission to the French Court, and who was a shrewd observer, thus describes the character of this ambitious prelate:—"The Cardinal, who is the leading man of the House of Guise, would be acknowledged by universal consent as the greatest politician in this kingdom, were it not for certain blemishes to which I must now allude. He has not yet reached his thirty-seventh year; he is gifted with wonderful intellectual powers, and apprehends from half a word the purport of those who converse with him; his memory is astonishing; his appearance is noble and handsome, and his eloquence displays itself easily on all sorts of subjects, but chiefly in matters connected with politics. He is thoroughly acquainted with literature; he knows Greek, Latin, and Italian. He is very strong in the sciences, especially theology. His habits of life and his general demeanour are beyond blame, and perfectly consistent with his ecclesiastical dignity; and this is more than can be said of the other prelates and cardinals, whose morals are notoriously irregular. But, on the other hand, his great fault is a disgraceful rapacity; in order to satisfy it he would not abstain even from criminal deeds. His duplicity is

likewise so great that it is well-nigh impossible to know when he is speaking the truth. The worst has not yet been told. He is considered very ready to take offence; he is vindictive, envious, and extremely sparing in acts of generosity and kindness. He excited universal hatred by persecuting all his adversaries so long as it was in his power to do so." That Micheli's portrait was by no means overdrawn, history has amply proved.

Having assumed the management of the finances, the cardinal in a very short time contrived to irritate both the *bourgeoisie* and the country people by his rapacity and his despotism. The old *noblesse* were equally offended at seeing themselves supplanted by foreigners who took a kind of delight in trampling down the best and most distinguished families. A Scotch princess—the unfortunate Mary Stuart—was seated on the throne; a cunning Italian woman—Catherine de Medici—held, to a great extent, in her hands the destinies of France; and two Lorrainers must, forsooth, take precedence over the Condés and the Montmorencys. The cardinal had had the extraordinary and ill-timed idea of causing a gallows to be erected at the entrance of the palace of Fontainebleau, and of issuing a proclamation threatening with death all disbanded and half-starved officers who should come to annoy the king with their solicitations and complaints. Such measures were not calculated to disarm the malcontents, and the Protestants knew full well, besides, that the King of Spain, Philip II., the upholder of religious intolerance, the champion of

the Inquisition, had offered his brother-in-law the assistance of forty thousand men in putting down conventicles and crushing for ever the Lutheran heresy. The noble-minded men who stood out for the rights of conscience might well consider Philip as an enemy from whom no quarter could be expected, and to whom no quarter should be given. It is not too much to say that he was more of a Pope than the Pope himself, and that the Council of Trent was suspected by him quite as much as the Synod of the Reformed Churches. He was perfectly logical in his views of ecclesiastical government, his political system was based upon a uniform and efficient scheme of espionage, and reports were regularly forwarded to him from Trent on the character and theological views of all the fathers who took a share in the deliberations of the Council.

Catherine de Medici is generally and correctly regarded as the embodiment of Roman Catholicism enforced at the point of the sword; but during the reign of Francis II. she adopted a kind of see-saw policy, which gave hopes alternately to the Protestants and to the Catholics. The King of Spain heartily deplored the lukewarmness she evinced in the cause of religion, and as he sincerely thought himself entrusted with the task of maintaining in Europe the principles of absolute government, he necessarily came to the conclusion that he must interfere wherever these principles were ignored or set aside; and if Francis II. did not feel equal to his duties, he should be treated as a vassal or a king *in statu pupillari*.

The series of reprisals which marked the course of the wars of religion in France began with the murder of President Minard, a personal enemy of the councillor Anne du Bourg, and one of his judges; he was shot down by a stranger one day on leaving the court whilst the trial was going on, and the assassin's blow had the effect of despatching at the same time the persecutor and the victim, du Bourg, who was sentenced to death in consequence of his friend's inconsiderate zeal.

In spite of these signs of future trouble, parties were not yet prepared to begin a civil war; and a plot was set on foot by the malcontents for the purpose of crushing the Guises, and of delivering the king from his ill-advised ministers. The Prince of Condé was the secret chief of the conspiracy, but the management of the whole affair had been left to a Limousin *gentilhomme*, Barry de la Renaudie, well known for his energy and his courage. The Court was then at Blois; it was arranged that a certain number of Huguenots should go and ask an audience of the king in order to lay before him a petition demanding religious freedom; La Renaudie was to follow at the head of five hundred well-armed gentlemen and one thousand soldiers; these were to surround Francis II., who would easily be taken and would be obliged to come to terms. The treachery of one of the conspirators upset the whole plot: the Duke of Guise removed the Court to Amboise, the Condés and the Châtillons were summoned for the king's service, and, with the view of splitting up the

Protestant party, the State prosecutions ordered against persons guilty of heresy were suspended. La Renaudie did not give up his enterprise; on the 16th of March he made an attempt to seize the castle of Amboise, but he was surrounded in the forest of Châteaurenaud, and his band of followers soon dispersed; he himself was killed, and during a whole month the implacable Duke François wreaked his vengeance upon the wretched Huguenots. Even the ladies of the Court assembled to glut their eyes with the spectacle of the victims of religious persecution hung, beheaded, or drowned in the Loire; one day a *gentilhomme* named M. de Villemongis, the last of a batch of prisoners sent to death, dipped his hands in the blood of his companions, and then raising them to heaven—"O Lord," he exclaimed, "this is the blood of Thy children, and Thou wilt avenge it." Some time after this appalling event, a gentleman, accompanied by his son aged ten years, was riding over the bridge of Amboise; at the sight of the heads of some of La Renaudie's followers, still exposed to the gaze of the passers-by, he cried: "They have beheaded France, the executioners!" Then placing his right hand upon the head of his son, he exclaimed: "My child, you must not grudge your life, as I shall not grudge mine, in avenging those noble leaders. If you forget your duty in this respect, you shall have my curse!" The lad thus appealed to was destined to play an important part in French history under the name of Agrippa d'Aubigné.

The cruelty which the Guises had visited on the

Amboise conspirators had the result of increasing the indignation which their haughtiness and despotism had aroused against them; their own supporters saw with horror these scenes of bloodshed: "Cardinal," said Chancellor Olivier on his death-bed, "you have brought about our damnation!" "Ah! madam!" said the Duchess of Guise to the queen, "can you doubt, after this, that great calamities shall fall upon our House?" Prophetic words, which were to be accomplished at no distant time by the murder of the *Balafré* and of the Cardinal at Blois. Catherine de Medici, still determined to keep a middle course between the extreme Catholics and the Huguenots, gave proof of the greatest discretion in appointing Michel de l'Hôpital as keeper of the seal in the stead of Chancellor Olivier.

This choice of Catherine's is perhaps the best proof that can be given of her system of policy. L'Hôpital entertained such liberal and generous views on religious questions that he came to be regarded by the extreme Catholics as a Huguenot, or even as an atheist. Trained in the law schools of Italy, he possessed in the highest degree the qualities which should ever distinguish all those who aim at the dangerous but glorious duty of administering justice; his learning was extraordinary even for the times in which he lived; his energy was dauntless, and his judgment incapable of being biassed either by personal feeling or by sophistry however plausible. The chatty memoir-writer, Brantôme, has described his character in a curious sketch, from which we shall give a few extracts: "The chancellor was a second Cato the

censor, and he knew very well how to reprove and castigate the corrupt society by which he was surrounded. And he had all the look of a Cato, with his long white beard, his pale features, and his grave manners: sometimes he seemed to those who considered him a true portrait of Saint Jerome, and such indeed was the name given to him by some of the courtiers. All the states of the realm stood in awe of him, especially the gentlemen of the law-courts whose chief he was. When he questioned them as to their lives, their offices, their capacity, and their learning, they all dreaded him as schoolboys do the principal of their college. Chiefly was he feared by those who aimed at being promoted to some office in the State: you may be sure that he scolded them well if they were incapable."

Under so able and independent an administrator no mercy whatever was shown to ignorance on the one hand, or to misconduct on the other. "Thus it appears," Brantôme continues, "that in the estimation of that illustrious chancellor men destitute of learning were regarded as malefactors. And I remember how, during that same journey to Bayonne, and in the same city of Bordeaux whereof I have been discoursing, the Marquis de Trans was summoned before the privy council; he appeared on the solemn assurance given to him in the name of the queen-mother, by M. de Fize, since secretary, and M. de Sauve, that no harm should be offered him except threats; and it would have been hard with him, if he had been guilty of contumacy. On appearing before

the chancellor, he wanted to relate to him the follies and pastimes of his youth by manner of apology; and whilst alluding to certain circumstances, he began to laugh. 'How! you laugh!' said M. de l'Hôpital, 'instead of being sorry, and showing repentance for your follies! You should remember that, in spite of your jokes and buffooneries, I could have your head cut off as soon as I had given sentence to that effect. Thank earnestly both the queen and M. de Fize, for had it not been for them you would certainly be beheaded at once, and in sooth, I am still hesitating on the subject." The chancellorship was not a desirable post in those days when the principles of religious freedom were completely ignored on both sides, and when Protestants and Catholics alike thought themselves to be in exclusive possession of the truth. L'Hôpital, however, determined to do his duty conscientiously and unflinchingly, and he at once showed the line of conduct he meant to follow, by opposing the Cardinal de Lorraine, who wished to introduce the Inquisition into France. By the edict of Romorantin (1560), which was the chancellor's first act of authority, the bishops had the right of taking cognizance of matters connected with heresy in their respective dioceses—a serious concession, no doubt, but still far preferable to the establishment of the Inquisition, that terrible ecclesiastical court which was then covering the length and breadth of Spain with funeral piles, and even exciting the horror of the Italian Catholics.

The Guises having continued to put off the meeting of the States-General, which, they feared, would back

l'Hôpital in his scheme of toleration, the nobility and high clergy were convened at Fontainebleau (August 21, 1560) under the presidency of Francis II. and of the young queen Mary Stuart. After a report from the chancellor on the state of the kingdom, and on the absolute necessity of putting a stop to the general disaffection, Coligny presented to the king a petition from the Huguenots of Normandy praying for liberty of conscience. The Cardinal de Lorraine opposed with all his might the granting of the smallest concessions, but Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne, and Monluc, Bishop of Valence, energetically took up the contrary side, and strongly censured the system of persecution adopted against the Protestants. The primitive Church, they said, always inclined towards leniency on such occasions; the only means of restoring peace was the summoning of a general council, but this measure had been persistently thwarted by the court of Rome, for fear lest temperate views should prevail; finally, they maintained that the sole remedy to existing evils was the convocation of the States-General and of a national synod.

It was at last agreed that the voice of the nation should be consulted, and that all prosecutions on the charge of heresy were to be suspended till December 10, 1560, the day appointed for the assembling of the States-General, an assembly that had not been convoked for eighty years. It was high time that active measures should be taken; for the Jesuits, Philip II. of Spain, and the Guises were banded together in one terrible conspiracy for the

total destruction of liberty, and the Protestant *confederates* (*eidgenossen*, Huguenots) led by Châtillon, Bourbon, and Condé were busily raising troops and preparing for immediate action. The avowed share which the last mentioned of these princes had had in the conspiracy of Amboise should have suggested the advisability on his part and on that of his brother of keeping away from the meeting of the assembly; proofs of his guilt were too patent, and the Guises were sure to avail themselves of an opportunity of getting rid *legally* of their most formidable antagonist. No evidence existing against the King of Navarre, it was resolved to murder him, and if Francis II. had plucked up resolution enough to give the signal, the tragic scene of the council-room of Blois would have been foreshadowed at Orléans. Navarre escaped, but Condé was arrested, and would have certainly been put to death if L'Hôpital had not purposely delayed affixing his signature to the sentence of condemnation. Francis II., struck down by illness on the 20th of November, breathed his last at the end of a fortnight, after a short reign of seventeen months; and the accession of Charles IX. marked the beginning of a new era in the annals of the French Protestants.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES IX. (1560–1574).

Charles IX. and Catherine de Medici—Liberal Views of the Chancellor—The Politicists—Hotman—Massacre of Vassy—The Civil Wars—Murder of the Duke of Guise—L'Hôpital dismissed—St. Bartholomew's Day—The Massacre described by Margaret of Valois and Théodore de Bèze—The principal Victims—Peter Ramus—Palissy and Ambroise Paré saved—Results of the Massacre—Death of Charles IX.

Admiral Coligny was at the king's bedside when, by his death, the crown of France passed to the head of a minor. Rising up with an air of gravity, he said to the Cardinal de Lorraine and the other persons present in the sick room, "Gentlemen, the king is dead; a warning to us how to live." The second son of Catherine de Medici, now entrusted with the dangerous task of governing a disaffected and disordered people, might well have taken that solemn lesson to heart; but, like his brother Francis, he was not allowed to decide for himself, and during the whole of his reign he acted merely as the tool of the unscrupulous queen-dowager. He was a man of ungovernable temper, passionately fond of field sports, immoral, like all the other members of his family, addicted to false swearing, and in every respect unreliable. Agrippa d'Aubigné, in his "Tragiques," thus describes the mother and the son:—"Tyranny

is somewhat endurable when an outside of virtue makes it look comely. Happy the Romans whose Cæsars loved both the excitement of war and the fascinations of art; but woe to him who lives like an infamous slave under a masculine woman or an effeminate man. But now a doubtful mother, after having played the part of procuress to her sons, made one of them take up his residence in the woods, and, as a worthy object of conquest, led him to triumph over the slaughter of some wild beast. She fashioned him into an Esau, whose mirth and appearance betokened a tyrant or a frenzied charioteer. In order to inure himself to cruelty, he accustomed himself during his wild youth to the sight of blood, and revelled in killing mercilessly stags, deer, and young fawns, so much so, that in the eyes of keen observers so savage a course of life betokened a love of massacre and tyranny." A Protestant writer, such as D'Aubigné was, might, perhaps, be accused of prejudice, but even the staunchest of Catholic historians have nothing to say in justification of the wretched Charles IX.

Never had such critical circumstances marked the beginning of a new reign. In the days of Blanche of Castile, and of Anne of Beaujeu, private ambitions had rendered the task of a regency comparatively difficult; but now that the whole nation in arms formed two camps opposed to each other in the name of religion, the cleverest politician could not ward off the storm ready to burst over France; all that could be hoped was to mitigate its violence, and, if possible,

to retard its outburst. This Catherine de Medici determined upon doing by every means in her power.

Notice was first sent to the Prince of Condé that he was free. He refused to leave his prison, and proudly declared that he would wait till his accusers were there themselves. The message then reached him that the late king had expressly ordered his liberation, and had declared so to the King of Navarre. Condé accordingly set out for La Fère, a place belonging to Antoine de Bourbon, and in February, 1561, he started with the intention of meeting Charles IX. at Fontainebleau.

Catherine de Medici, now regent, thought it wisest to abandon the policy which had till then prevailed under the influence of the Guises, and while she confirmed the Lorraine princes in the important offices they held, she named, on the other hand, Antoine de Bourbon lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and took Michel de l'Hôpital as her chief adviser. It is worth while to picture to ourselves somewhat minutely this wonderfully able woman, and for that purpose we cannot do better than borrow the following characteristic description from the correspondence of the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Micheli, whom we have already quoted: "She is a woman of forty-three, of affable manners, great moderation, superior intelligence, and ability in conducting all sorts of affairs, especially affairs of State. As mother, she has the personal management of the king; she allows no one else to sleep in his room; she is never away from him. As regent and

head of the government, she holds everything in her hands, public offices, benefices, graces, and the seal which bears the king's signature, and which is called the *cachet* (the privy seal or signet). In the council, she allows the others to speak; she replies to any one who needs it; she decides according to the advice of the council or according to what she may have made up her mind to do. She opens the letters addressed to the king by the ambassadors and by all the ministers. . . . She has great designs, and does not allow them to be easily penetrated. As for her way of living, she is very fond of her ease and pleasure; she observes few rules; she eats and drinks a great deal; she considers that she makes up for it by taking much exercise on foot and on horseback; she goes a-hunting, and last year she always joined the king in his stag hunts through the woods and thick forests, a dangerous sort of chase for any one who is not an excellent rider. She has an olive complexion, and is already very fat. Accordingly the doctors have not a good opinion of her life. She has a dower of 300,000 francs a year, double that of the former queens-dowager. She was formerly always in money difficulties and in debt, now, she not only keeps out of debt, but she spends and gives more liberally than ever." Such was Catherine de Medici, the clever but unprincipled woman whose policy was that of compromise, and whose great object was to oppose party to party, so as to weaken them both and to reign unfettered. *Divide et impera* was her motto, and she seemed to have studied state-craft in the school of Machiavelli.

Chancellor de l'Hôpital, like the Regent, aimed at the destruction of the parties which were rending the kingdom asunder; but his political programme was that of an honest man and a true liberal. A wise system of religious toleration and of administrative reform would, he thought, restore peace and satisfy all true Frenchmen. "Let us," he said, "do away with the diabolical party-names which cause so many seditions -Lutherans, Huguenots, and Papists; let us not alter the name of Christians." At a time of staunch convictions and of earnest faith, a temporising system like that of the queen-dowager was impossible; the stern, unflinching leaders on both sides simply despised it, and the only solution of the problem for them was the utter destruction of their respective adversaries. For the same reason they could not understand the enlightened impartiality of the Chancellor; and although they might silently award to him the tribute of respect and esteem they refused to Catherine de Medici, yet they were not in a frame of mind calm enough to listen to the voice of reason. L'Hôpital was considerably in advance of his age, and it is a remarkable fact that some of the reforms he proposed at the meeting of the States at Pontoise (1561) were those carried at the beginning of the Revolution in 1789. One important measure that he wished to introduce was the suppression of the sale of offices connected with the law and the finances. Instead of the scandalous system which transformed these offices into a species of State property put up for auction and sold to the highest

bidder, he would have substituted commissions granted by the Crown for the space of three years. Another scheme of his, more important still, was the sale of church-lands, estimated at the sum of 110,000,000 livres, with the view of paying off the debts of the State. The holders of livings and other benefices were to be pensioned off. The clergy met this proposition by a counter one, the drift of which was that they would pledge themselves to make over to the State as a free gift during nine years the sum of 16,000,000 livres. "We are still discharging this obligation," said the Abbé Maury, at a meeting of the Constituent Assembly more than two hundred years later.

L'Hôpital's scheme may have seemed Utopian for the times in which he lived, but the influence of his enlightened and liberal policy extended far after him, and the illustrious band of *Policists*, as they were called—Jeannin, Pasquier, De Thou, and many others—who rose superior to party spirit and to religious fanaticism, could all claim him as their intellectual progenitor and their guide. At an epoch when even ecclesiastical authority was called in question, and when the power of the Church was tottering and giving way, it was not likely that civil rule would escape the attacks of reformers. Bodin, La Boétie, L'Hôpital himself, amongst the thinkers who belonged nominally to Roman Catholicism, had issued a loud protest against despotism, and directed their attention to an inquiry into the condition and duties of political government. A Protestant, Hotman, distinguished himself in the same line of thought, and should not

be forgotten in our sketch of L'Hôpital's political family. His "Franco-Gallia" is one of the most profound and, at the same time, most eloquent works of the age; nor can we very much wonder at the severity with which the author discusses the subject of government, when we see that the vices of every king reigned supreme at the Court of the Louvre during the dynasty of the Valois. The tendency of Hotman's work has sometimes been considered essentially democratic; but we are inclined to think that he was more in favour of an oligarchy, for his fundamental axiom is that the rule in France had been at all times theoretically exercised by a national council enjoying the rights of deposing the sovereign in case of maladministration. Whether the starting-point of the author of the "Franco-Gallia" was republican or aristocratic, his conclusion, at any rate, was a sentence of condemnation against despotism, and in this respect it resembled La Boétie's "Contre Un," and Hubert Languet's "Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos." The style of the work is remarkably clear, nervous, and spirited. The book was brought out in 1573, and has, therefore, at all events, the merit of originality, the date of the "Contre Un" being 1578, and that of Languet's "Vindiciæ" 1579.

The edicts of Saint Germain and of January (1562) were favourable to the Huguenots. Religious meetings were allowed in rural districts; all penalties previously decreed against Dissenters were suspended on condition that the old faith should not be interfered with: finally, the Huguenot

divines, with Théodore de Bèze at their head, were invited to meet the Roman Catholic prelates and theologians in a conference (*colloque*) at Poissy, near Paris.

Théodore de Bèze, the faithful associate and coadjutor of Calvin in the great work of the Reformation, both at Geneva and in France, is justly and universally regarded as *the* historian of the early Huguenots. His "Juvenilia," which the violence of party spirit has so misrepresented, his sermons, his labours in the province of criticism, and his pamphlets are comparatively forgotten. The "Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées au Royaume de France" has retained all its value, not only on account of its literary merits, but also on the score of its impartiality; and if the author deals too exclusively with questions of doctrine, still the details he gives us are, generally speaking, very reliable. The speech he delivered at the opening of the *colloque* is an eloquent plea for liberty and mutual forbearance. Unfortunately, the conciliatory measures he proposed satisfied no one. A rising of the Protestants took place at Nismes, and the Duke of Guise gave the signal of the civil war by putting to the sword (March 1, 1562) a band of inoffensive Huguenots who had assembled for public worship in a barn near Vassy, in Champagne. Sixty of them were killed, and upwards of two hundred wounded without distinction of age or of sex. This dastardly act formed the prelude of a war which, sometimes suspended by futile treaties, recommenced seven times, and during the long space of thirty-seven years covered France with ruins.

The Huguenots flew to arms; when the interests of religion were at stake the question of nationality was set aside, and whilst the King of Spain sent to the assistance of French Catholicism a body of three thousand men, Condé delivered over Le Hâvre to Queen Elizabeth in return for assistance of the same kind. If we may believe the "Mémoires de Condé," a formidable plot had been organised by the King of Spain to crush in the first instance Geneva and Navarre, the two hotbeds of heresy; the French Calvinists were to be exterminated next, and it was thought that the German Lutherans could not then hold together for a very long season. The spirit of hatred with which the war was conducted on both sides is nowhere better illustrated than in the memoirs or commentaries of Blaise de Monluc on the Catholic side, and the life of Baron des Adrets on that of the Protestants. The former said of himself that "every one could easily know the route he had followed, for there were evident traces of it on the road-side trees." The latter, on one occasion, obliged his prisoners to leap from the top of a tower upon a row of pikes set up in a line to receive them.

The battle of Dreux (1562) gave the advantage to the Duke of Guise, who probably would have driven the Protestants out of Orléans, had he not been murdered (1563) by Poltrot de Méré. "Now," said he to the assassin, "I will show you how much more gentle my religion is than the one you profess. Yours has advised you to kill me unheard, although I had done nothing to offend you; mine orders me to

forgive you, convicted though you be of having murdered me without any motive." Noble words, indeed, but they can hardly be held to counterbalance a career of bloodshed and of unrelenting fanaticism.

It is a question whether the death of the Duke of Guise was not a relief to the queen-regent, who found herself thus conveniently rid of a terrible and overbearing master; she treated with the Huguenots at Amboise (1563), but the indignation of the Catholics compelled her to retract all the concessions she had made. Adopting then the contrary course, she reorganised the royal forces, and hired the services of some Swiss troops, whilst the Duke of Alva assembled in the Netherlands a formidable army, which might act either against the Protestants there, or against the Huguenots in France. Anxious to forestall their enemies, Condé and Coligny then attempted a repetition of the Amboise conspiracy, but having failed (September 27, 1567) in making themselves masters of the person of the king, they laid siege to the capital and a battle was fought on the plains of Saint-Denis, without any signal success.

The Protestant army scarcely amounted to six thousand men, without any artillery, whereas, independently of the armed inhabitants, there was in Paris a strong body of ten thousand soldiers. Condé's plan was to wait for the reinforcements which he expected from the south of France, besides a German contingent under the command of the son of the Elector Palatine. The Parisians determined on dislodging him from his position, and selected as their leader the old Constable

Montmorency. Although his army was greatly inferior to that of his opponents, Condé accepted the battle; the Catholic general, brave but thoroughly inefficient as a leader, and worn out by age, was killed; but, on the other hand, the Protestants were put to flight. The king was discussing with his courtiers the question as to which of the parties the success might be rightly ascribed to. "Your Majesty has not won the battle," said Marshal de Vieilleville, "and still less has the Prince of Condé." "Who then?" asked the king. "Why, the King of Spain," answered the marshal, "for so many brave people have died on both sides, so many noblemen, valiant captains, and stalwart soldiers, all belonging to the French nation, that they would have sufficed to conquer Flanders and the whole of the Netherlands, and re-unite them to the crown, from which they were formerly separated."

Catherine de Medici, more than ever anxious to concentrate the whole power in her own hands, did not appoint a successor to the high office of Constable which Montmorency had so long occupied. Having no real warrior to oppose to the Huguenots, she was compelled to accept the conditions of peace they chose to lay down (Peace of Longjumeau, 1568), and L'Hôpital endeavoured once more to avail himself of the opportunity for preaching moderation and mutual forbearance; he was the only man in the kingdom who believed in the possibility of a settlement of affairs, and the designation of *lame* or *insecure* (*paix boiteuse ou mal assise*), given to the peace of Longjumeau, proved how little confidence both Catholics and Huguenots

had in its duration. Indeed, Catherine had only signed the treaty with the view of gaining time, and of preparing for another war. In a mere sketch such as we are attempting here, it would be impossible for us to trace all the incidents of this lengthened and merciless struggle; readers anxious for more details must refer to the wide collection of memoirs which time has handed down to us, particularly to those of Monluc and Lanoue. We have already mentioned Monluc's "Commentaires," "the soldier's Bible," as Henry IV. used to call them, full of Gascon bragging, but unrivalled for descriptions of battles and for specimens of military eloquence. His style is picturesque and racy in the highest degree, and the only regret we feel whilst tarrying in his company is that he should gloat over scenes of cruelty and carnage. The "Discours Politiques et Militaires" of the Protestant commander François de Lanoue are written in a totally different spirit; they give us the impression of a generous man, involved, as all public characters were then, in the turmoil of party spirit, sensible of the extreme evils which must always be the result of civil wars, deploring these evils, and endeavouring as much as in him lies to attenuate them. How feelingly he speaks of those "wars of religion which have caused religion to be forgotten." For the description and appreciation of the incidents which marked the civil wars of the sixteenth century there are no better guides than Lanoue and Monluc; for appalling pictures of the state of France we should turn to Ronsard's "Discours sur les Misères du Temps" and to Agrippa

d'Aubigné's "Tragiques," and see there the "black reiter" and the "grim landzknecht" carrying in their train wholesale destruction, the mother and her babes dying of starvation in the burnt-down cottage, the children forgetting the loyal cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" with which they used to greet in days of yore the presence of their kings and the banner of the fleurs de lis.

Catherine de Medici was certainly not the woman to revive amongst the French the sentiments of patriotism. L'Hôpital's generous character rendered him unfit to carry out a political system of duplicity and treachery: he was dismissed from office (May, 1568). A plan had been devised at court for seizing, on the same day, Condé and Coligny in Burgundy, and Jeanne d'Albret, the widow of Antoine de Navarre, in Béarn; all three were to be beheaded, but all three escaped. After a ride of nearly three hundred miles, Coligny and Condé arrived at La Rochelle, which had declared in their favour during the last war; they were joined by the heroic Jeanne d'Albret, who came to place at their disposal her energy, her fortune, and her young son, Henry of Béarn. Catherine's scheme having thus proved a failure, she sent against the Huguenots a small army of 18,000 infantry and 4,000 horse, commanded by her youngest son, the Duke of Anjou, under the direction of Tavannes and Biron.

The battles of Jarnac and of Moncontour (1569) were lost by the Protestants; but in spite of this twofold catastrophe, in spite of Condé's death and of Coligny's wounds, the Court was obliged to grant a third peace,

that of St. Germain, in 1570; it was so favourable to the Protestants that they universally regarded it as merely a blind, and as an arrangement made on purpose to mislead them, and to conceal the most sinister preparations on the part of the Court. Public worship according to the Reformed faith was allowed in two towns for every province; La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité were handed over to the Huguenots as places of safety; the young King of Navarre was to marry the sister of Charles IX., Margaret of Valois, and it had been even decided to invest Admiral Coligny with the command of the forces which the king intended to send to the assistance of the Protestants in the Netherlands. This was indeed the true foreign policy of France, and although an alliance with Queen Elizabeth against Philip II. was essentially in direct opposition to all the traditions and hopes of the Catholics, it is not unlikely that the young king may have been for a short time dazzled by the prospect of glory which it unfolded before him. Negotiations were begun with the view of bringing about a marriage between the Queen of England and the Duke of Anjou; this scheme did not come to pass, but a treaty was concluded between the two kingdoms of England and France on April 22, 1572. At the same time, the campaign in Flanders was still seriously contemplated; the Prince of Orange received subsidies, the German Lutherans were treated with, and an army was raised in Normandy under the command of Lanoue and Genlis, two of Coligny's principal lieutenants.

Such demonstrations in favour of Protestantism completely deluded the Huguenot chieftains, who, after the conclusion of the Peace of St. Germain, had retired to their own estates or to the places of safety assigned to them. Coligny himself came to Paris, where he was received by the king with profuse demonstrations of the greatest friendship: "We have caught you now," he said to him, laughing, "and we do not mean to let you go." He restored to him all his offices and dignities, allowed him a guard of fifty gentlemen for his personal security, compensated him for the losses he had endured in consequence of the war, and made him a present of 100,000 livres. He affected to consult him on all occasions, to be guided by his advice, and to reserve all his liberalities for those whom the admiral recommended as deserving promotion or help.

The failure of the expedition in Flanders has been regarded by some historians as the real cause of the massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day; it is more likely that the suspicions, too lamentably justified, of the Protestants led Catherine de Medici to hasten the catastrophe which she had long been contemplating, and to prevent her enemies from forestalling her and rushing once more to arms. Coligny was constantly being warned of some secret plot which could not be exactly described or proved, but which seemed inevitable. One day a certain Protestant captain, Blosset by name, who had distinguished himself in defending Vézelay against the Catholics, came to take leave of the admiral before going home. "Why are you eager to quit us?" said Coligny. "Because," answered

Blosset, "no one wishes us well here." "What do you mean? Trust me, we have a good and kind monarch." "A great deal too kind; that is just the reason why I feel anxious to be off; and if you followed my example, it would be all the better both for yourself and for us." The sudden death of the Queen of Navarre, ascribed, but probably without sufficient reason, to poison, came to increase the general anxiety of the Huguenots. Still Coligny persisted in trusting the promises of Charles IX., and in believing that no act of violence was contemplated against himself and his friends.

Efforts have been made to show that the massacre on Saint Bartholomew's Day was a sudden, unpremeditated *émeute* of the Parisians, who were firmly attached to the Romish faith, indignant at the anti-Catholic policy of the king and of the queen-dowager, and resolved upon taking, if we may so say, the law into their own hands. Against this supposition we can quote a mass of contemporary pamphlets, the evidence of L'Estoile and De Thou, both liberal Catholics; on the Ultramontane side we have the decisive testimony of Davila, Adriani, and Capilupi; of whom the first was one of Catherine de Medici's devoted followers, the second held the office of historian to the Medici family, and the last published at Rome, in the very year of the massacre, a work entitled "The Stratagem of Charles IX." with the approbation of the Cardinal de Lorraine.

The approaching ceremonies of the royal marriage between Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois had attracted to Paris, as a matter of course, a large

number of strangers, including many of the leading Protestants. The ceremony was to take place on the 18th of August, and it was thought that the confusion and bustle which must necessarily follow would lead to some quarrel, then to an affray, and finally to a universal slaughter. The young Duke of Guise, now in Paris, who accused Coligny of having abetted and encouraged Poltrot de Méré, had obtained from the king leave to do away with the admiral; a disturbance would inevitably ensue, and it was arranged that under the plea of enforcing order the royal troops should fall upon the Huguenots, and put them to death. It is one of the curses of civil war that it blunts the sense of morality, and encourages the abominable idea that the end justifies the means; behind the captains who make war fairly and loyally, crowd the assassins whose sword, in the pay of the highest bidder, strikes in the dark, and does its work by stealth; and Maurevert, "the king's slayer," was just one degree more abject than Coconnas, Besme, and Tavannes, the three bullies of the Louvre. For the space of three days he lay in wait at the Hôtel de Guise, arquebuse in hand, looking out for the opportunity of firing at the admiral; at last, on the 22nd, Coligny was shot as he was returning home from court, but so clumsily that a mere tyro in the science of murdering would have done better. Charles IX. pretended to be thoroughly indignant at this dastardly act, and he swore by the most dreadful oaths that prompt and exemplary punishment would immediately follow: "The wound is for you," he exclaimed, "the sorrow is for me."

The Italians, Chancellor de Birague, Marshal de Retz, and the Duke of Nevers, devoted to Catherine de Medici and to her political system, assisted her in persuading Charles IX. to order a general massacre; the Dukes of Anjou and Angoulême, and Marshal Tavannes were equally strong on the same side; the queen-regent even threatened to leave the Court, together with her third son, rather than see Charles IX. reduced to the ignominious position of a nominal king under the tutelage of the Huguenots. Charles replied that if such were the case not one of the Protestants must be spared to come afterwards and reproach him for his cruelty. Everything being settled at last, the *prévôt des marchands* (mayor of Paris) received orders to shut the city gates, and to call out all the captains, lieutenants, and *bourgeois* whose Catholic zeal seemed to him beyond a doubt. The signal was to be given at three o'clock in the morning by the tolling of the large bell of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, the parish-church of the Court; the murderers, however, anxious to begin their work, anticipated the signal by one hour, and Coligny was the first to be struck down. It is useless to dwell long over the horrible story which has so often been told already; all the contemporary memoirs have described various episodes of the 24th of August, one of the most graphic being the account given by Margaret of Valois.

"King Charles," she says, "who was very prudent, and had always been extremely obedient to the queen my mother, and a most Catholic prince, seeing also what was at stake, took the sudden

resolution of complying with the wishes of the queen his mother, and of protecting his person against the Huguenots by means of the Catholics. He felt at the same time an extreme regret at not being able to save Teligny, M. de Lanoue, and M. de la Rochefoucauld. Consequently he went to find the queen his mother, and sent for M. de Guise and all the other Catholic princes and captains; and that very same night the resolution was taken of perpetrating the massacre which took place on Saint Bartholomew's Day. Suddenly applying themselves to that business, all the chains being stretched out in the streets, and the alarm-bell tolling, they attacked the Huguenots, each one in his own district, and rushed against the admiral's house. M. de Guise went there immediately, and M. de Besme, a gentleman from Germany, having got up to the admiral's bed-room, stabbed him, and then threw the body out of the window to M. de Guise his master.

"As for me, no one told me anything about all this. I saw everybody about and stirring; the Huguenots were desperate on account of the admiral's death, the Guises were dreading lest it should be revenged, and whispering to each other. The Huguenots suspected me because I was a Catholic, and the Catholics because I had married the King of Navarre, who was a Huguenot. So that no one spoke to me about the affair, till the evening, being at the *coucher* of the queen my mother, sitting on a box near my sister of Lorraine, whom I saw very sad, the queen my mother, then conversing with some visitors, perceived

me, and told me to go to bed. As I was curtseying to her, my sister took me by the arm, stopped me, burst into tears, and said, 'For God's sake, my sister, do not go.' This frightened me extremely. The queen my mother perceived it, called my sister, and, getting very angry, forbad her to tell me anything. My sister answered that I should not be sacrificed in this ruthless manner, and that if they discovered a plot they would avenge themselves upon me. The queen my mother answered that, if it pleased God, no ill would happen to me; but, that at all events, I must retire, for fear lest they should suspect anything likely to prevent the carrying out of the scheme.

"I saw clearly that they were contending together, but I could not hear what they said. Once more she roughly ordered me to go to bed. My sister, bathed in tears, wished me good-night, without daring to say anything else, and I went off shivering, dismayed, yet without being able to imagine what I had to dread. As soon as I was in my closet, I began to pray to God that it would please Him to keep me under His protection, although I knew not against what or against whom. Thereupon the king my husband, who had gone to bed, told me to take some rest; I did so, and found him surrounded by thirty or forty Huguenot gentlemen whom I knew not as yet, for I had been married only a few days. They did nothing all night long but speak of the catastrophe which the Admiral had met with, resolving to go at day-break to ask the king for justice against M. de Guise, and saying that if it was not granted they would take the law into

their own hands. For my part, I kept still brooding over my sister's tears, and I could not sleep from the fear she had excited in me, although I knew not what I was to dread. At day-break the king my husband said that he would go and have a game at tennis, and then wait till the king should be awake, being fully determined on claiming then justice from him. He left my room, accompanied by all his gentlemen. Seeing that day had dawned, and believing that the danger with which my sister had threatened me was past, and being overcome by sleep, I told my nurse to shut the door, in order that I might rest comfortably.

"One hour afterwards, after I was fallen asleep, behold a man knocking with his hands and his feet at my door, and shouting 'Navarre! Navarre!' My nurse, thinking it was the king my husband, ran quickly and opened. It happened to be a gentleman named M. de Léran, who had a sword-stab in the elbow, and had been pierced through the arm with a halberd-thrust; he was still pursued by four archers, who all entered with him into my room. He, wishing to protect himself, rushed upon my bed. I, feeling that man holding me, threw myself between the bed and the wall; he would not let me go and still clung to me. I knew not the man, and wondered whether he meant to insult me, and whether the archers meant to kill him or me. We both shouted and were equally frightened. At last it pleased God that M. de Nançay, captain of the guards, should come in, who, seeing me in that plight, could not help laughing, notwithstanding all the compassion

he felt. He was very angry with the archers for their unwarrantable indiscretion, and made them leave the room, and granted to me the life of the poor man who clung to me. I directed poor M. de Léran to go to bed, and had his wounds dressed in my closet, where he remained till they were thoroughly healed. I changed my night-dress, because I was quite covered with blood, then M. de Nançay told me what was going on, assuring me that the king my husband was in the king's room, and that no harm would be done to him. Afterwards he caused a dressing-gown to be thrown over me, and led me to the apartment of my sister Madame de Lorraine, where I entered more dead than alive. As I reached the ante-chamber, the doors of which were wide open, a gentleman named Bourse, trying to escape from the archers who pursued him, was pierced with an arquebuse-thrust at three yards from me. I fell on the other side, half fainting, in the arms of M. de Nançay, and thought that the blow had pierced us both. Having somewhat recovered, I went into the little room where my sister used to sleep, and while I was there, M. de Miossens, first gentleman-in-waiting on the king my husband, and Armagnac, his first *valet-de-chambre*, came to entreat me to save their lives. I went and threw myself on my knees before the king and the queen my mother to obtain that favour, which, at last, they granted."

To this curious and naïve episode so graphically described by Margaret of Valois we shall add another extract of a more general character from the pen of Théodore de Bèze. The Duke of Guise

accompanied by a numerous troop of his adherents had reached the hôtel of Admiral Coligny, who was surprised unarmed, little suspecting, after the king's warm protestations of friendship, that an attempt upon his life had been contemplated for several days past.

"Hearing the noise, and dreading some revolt, he ordered one of his servants to get upon the roof of the house, and to call the soldiers of the guard whom the king had granted him for his protection, not thinking in the least that they it was who caused the tumult and the outbreak; meanwhile, he got up, and having put on his nightdress, began to say his prayers; at that very moment a German named Besme, belonging to the Duke of Guise's household, who had entered the room together with the captains Caussens, Sarlaboux, and some others, killed him; Sarlaboux however boasted afterwards that he alone committed the murder. The last words of the admiral, speaking to Besme, were: 'My child, you cannot shorten my life for all you do.' Not one of the admiral's household who could be found, was pardoned; they were all put to death.

"The admiral's corpse was thrown by Sarlaboux out of the windows into the courtyard, by orders of the Duke of Guise and of the Duke of Aumale, who had run to the spot, and who were anxious to see their dead enemy before going on.

"On the day on which the admiral was wounded, the king had advised his brother-in-law the King of Navarre to have ten or twelve of his favourite followers

to sleep in his room, in order to guard against the designs of the Duke of Guise, who, he said, was a wicked man. Now these gentlemen, and a few others who slept in the King of Navarre's antechamber were led out, after the death of the admiral, disarmed of the swords they wore by Nancé and the soldiers of the king's guard, and taken as far as the gate of the Louvre: there they were put to death in the presence of the king who was looking out of a window. Amongst these were Baron de Pardaillan, Captains Piles, Saint-Martin, Bourres, and another whose name I have forgotten.

"Then the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were brought before the king, who, seeing them, told them that henceforth he would not tolerate more than one religion in his kingdom; he insisted therefore that they should act as his predecessors had done and attend mass, if they cared for their lives and their property.

"The King of Navarre answered very respectfully, without, however, agreeing to the king's proposition; but the Prince of Condé, who is of a somewhat more impetuous nature, having replied more sharply, was threatened by the king with being beheaded if in the space of three days he did not alter his mind. He was, said his majesty, stubborn, obstinate, seditious, and the son of a rebel, and no further delay would be granted to him.

"The other Huguenots who were in the Louvre, and to whom life had been allowed either for money or at their earnest entreaty, promised to do whatever

the king wished; amongst them were Grammont, Gamaches, Dutas, and certain others; they all received their pardon the more easily because the king knew perfectly well that they had always had but little or no religion. The alarm-bell of the palace was immediately tolled as a signal that a general rush should be made upon the other Huguenots, without respect to station or to sex, who happened to be in the city; the pretext given was that of a general conspiracy organised by the Huguenots against the king, his mother, and his brothers, who had already killed more than fifteen soldiers of the guard; the king had ordered therefore that not one Huguenot should be spared.

"The courtiers and guardsmen undertook to do away with the Huguenots belonging to the nobility, thus finishing by the sword, as they said, the litigations which pen, paper, and the ordinary course of justice had not been able to settle. Thus the poor, the low, and the humble accused of conspiracy, having been caught by their enemies in a state of nakedness, ill advised, asleep, disarmed, unable to breathe, victims to their own simplicity, were put to death, some in their beds, some on the roofs of the houses, and some in other places, as it might happen."

Téligny, La Rochefoucauld, Pardaillan, and Caumont La Force were amongst the victims; and philosophy had to mourn the loss of the celebrated Ramus. The branch of human knowledge that was most immediately connected with the religious movement was, of course, metaphysics, and it was almost impossible that the

universal protest against scholasticism, the throwing away of the yoke of mediæval doctrines in the sphere of ontology should not be responded to by the followers of the Reformation. Was not the mighty movement inaugurated by Luther and Calvin a casting off of the entire system of intellectual despotism monopolised by the Church, and a determination to test on independent grounds the real merits of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium?* Ramus, or to call him by his French name, Pierre la Ramée, is the best known amongst the French philosophers who, at the dawn of the Renaissance, broke, not only the theological, but also the metaphysical fetters with which the Church had till then kept under its dominion the whole of Europe; and his melancholy death on Saint Bartholomew's Day has contributed to make him known by even those who care little for the subtleties of philosophical discussion. No one helped more than he did to get rid of the old method which had so long flourished under the guarantee of Aristotle's name; and his work on logic, though originally written in Latin, obtained so much celebrity that it soon appeared in a French form for the benefit of the general readers.

This last circumstance—the one, we mean, of a scientific treatise being thought worthy of coming before the world in the vernacular language—is extremely important, because it shows that the best thinkers felt the necessity of appealing to public opinion from the dictates of the ecclesiastical tribunals, and of secularising the knowledge which had been till

then a source of such immense power to a comparatively small minority. Calvin's works were written, of course, in Latin—the language of scholars and divines—but they could not in that form have reached the people and the *bourgeoisie*, and accordingly they likewise appeared almost simultaneously in French.

The artist Jean Goujon is also worthy of especial notice. It is well known, despite what Roman Catholics have said to the contrary, that religious fanaticism shortened his life, as well as that of Ramus; he was killed on Saint Bartholomew's Day whilst he was working at the sculptural decorations of the Louvre; he has deserved to be called the Correggio of sculpture; his principal works are the bas reliefs of the Château of Anet, the sculptures of the Hôtel Carnavalet, the Fountain of the Innocents, and the *tribune de la Salle des Cent Suisses* at the Louvre. Although Bernard Palissy survived the massacre, the latter part of his career was marked by persecution and imprisonment. The romantic history of his struggles, his perseverance and ultimate success are all familiar to us; he related it himself in a work which had become extremely rare when, in 1777, Faujas de Saint Fond and Gobet published a complete edition of the celebrated potter's writings. During the wars of the League, Palissy, who had already been imprisoned at Bordeaux for his religion, was sent to the Bastille by orders of one of the "sixteen," and marked as a man to be conducted to the "public spectacle," that is, to death. His companions in captivity were two ladies, daughters of Jacques Foucaud, *procureur*

to the Parliament of Paris. The Duke of Mayenne, the brother of the Duke of Guise, a friend and admirer of Palissy's talent, contrived to postpone the execution, and Henry III. came himself to visit, in prison, the *inventeur des rustiques figurines du Roy.* "My good man," said he, "you have been for the last twenty-five years in the service both of the Queen my mother and in my own. We have allowed you to live in the free exercise of your religion amidst fires and massacres. I am, now, so pressed by those of the Duke of Guise and by my people, that I have been compelled, in spite of myself, to send to prison those two poor women and yourself. They shall be burnt to death as well as you, unless you renounce heresy." "Sir," answered Palissy, "Count de Maulevrier came yesterday from you to offer to these two sisters life in return for virtue; they replied they would die martyrs to their honour and to their God. You have often told me that you pitied me; I also do pity you. You say: *I have been compelled;* no true king ever spoke thus. Those sisters and I, who have a share in the Kingdom of Heaven, will teach you royal language, namely, that neither the *Guisards* nor all your people, nor even you can compel a potter to bend the knee before statues. I know how to die!" Henry III., impressed by these noble words, did not carry out the threat of sending Palissy to the stake; the old man, however, remained in the Bastille till his death, which happened very shortly afterwards (1589). His reputation does not rest exclusively on his artistic productions; he was

also a good naturalist, he was acquainted with physical science, and he gave public lectures which were attended by a number of distinguished persons. Amongst his auditors we must name another Protestant, Ambroise Paré, whose fame as a surgeon is still very great, and who has left treatises of much interest, not only from the scientific point of view, but also as memoirs on the troublous times in which his lot was cast. A member of the Guild of Master Barber-surgeons, Paré was a man, says Mr. Morley, who certainly contributed much to the progress of the science of surgery in his own day, though there was an unprofessional want of dulness about him which, taken together with his innovations in practice and his heresy in religious creed, made him an object of jealousy and stout abuse among the little and loud men who create a noise in a profession. Paré introduced the method of arresting the flow of blood, after an amputation, by the use of ligatures, in place of the actual cautery. Ligatures are now universally employed—the spouting blood-vessels are tied; but in the sixteenth century, the custom was to burn them; and when Gaspard Martin, the brother-in-law of Paré, died, after an amputation performed by Ambroise in his own way, there was great triumph and exultation at the expense of the innovator. Paré was, for three years, surgeon to the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris. Between 1536 and 1543 he was surgeon to a troop of soldiers in the army of Piedmont. He then served as surgeon to companies under the Duke of Rohan and the Dauphin. In 1544 he was with the king's army at Landrecies.

In 1545 he was at Boulogne-sur-Mer with the army employed against the English. In 1552 he served in Germany, still under Rohan; there he was at the siege of Damvilliers, conducted by Henry II.; and he served at Château-le-Comte, under Antoine, afterwards King of Navarre; then he was in Metz during the siege, and has left a most interesting account of that event. In 1553 he was in another besieged town; and on its capture, having been made prisoner of war, was sent home without ransom. In 1558 he was at the battle of Saint-Quentin; in 1562, at the siege of Rouen, at the battle of Dreux, in which the Prince of Condé and the Constable were taken prisoners, and at Bourges. He was at other battles of the civil wars, and at the siege of Havre.

Paré and Palissy were saved only from the general slaughter of the Huguenots with the greatest difficulty, and on account of the signal services they had rendered to both parties. The massacres continued with brief intervals till the 21st of September. Henry of Navarre and Condé were summoned to the Louvre, and threatened with immediate death unless they abjured; and although Charles IX. published a letter on the 25th in which he represented the massacre as the result of a quarrel between the Châtillons and the Guises, he was afterwards persuaded by his mother to assume boldly the consequences of his actions. He accordingly went to Parliament, declared loudly that the punishment of the Huguenots had been carried out by his express orders, and the members of the assembly were base enough to hold a mock trial over the lifeless

body of Coligny, which was hung by the feet at Montfaucon. Two Huguenot captains, Bricquemaut and Cavagnes, then in prison, were also summoned before the court, tried, condemned to death, and hung at the Place de Grève.

The number of victims has been variously estimated; some say two thousand, others four. According to the historian De Thou, the number two thousand comprises only those who perished during the first day; Davila's reckoning of four thousand as a total is far more likely to be the correct one. The anecdote of Charles IX. shooting from the windows of the Louvre at the unfortunate victims as they tried to escape has been contradicted, but it is established on the best authority; critics have also uselessly tried to deny that the king went to see the body of Coligny exposed at Montfaucon; history is there, fortunately, to witness against the murderers, and both Brantôme and Agrippa d'Aubigné are conclusive on points which the most ingenious critics would vainly attempt to gainsay. In fact, modern writers on the Catholic side acknowledge willingly that the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day was a deplorable event, and accordingly they would lay the blame of it upon the Paris *bourgeoisie*, who flew to arms in a momentary excitement, and compelled the king and the queen-dowager to sanction reluctantly what they felt themselves quite unable to prevent.

To conclude the list of apologies and excuses made on behalf of Charles IX.; some writers have vainly endeavoured to show that he was not accountable for

his actions, and that he had no will of his own. Facts, however, are there, staring us in the face, which enable us to contradict this assertion, and it is idle to attempt to make us believe that a young man of twenty, who had in a letter still preserved ordered Maurevert to be rewarded for having murdered the Calvinist captain De Mouy, did not understand the responsibility he was incurring when he sanctioned the wholesale massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day.

History has transmitted to us the names of a few noble-minded governors who in their respective provinces refused positively to execute the orders of the king: Montmorency in Ile-de-France, Longueville in Picardy, Matignon in Lower Normandy, Charny in Burgundy, Gordes in Dauphiné, Joyeuse in Languedoc, Saint Hérem, in Auvergne. The public executioner at Troyes, being urged to take a part in the massacre, answered that it was not his office to put any one to death except by virtue of a sentence of execution. Some persons turned the killing of the Huguenots into a kind of financial speculation; at Angers, for instance, where the magistrates stopped the shedding of blood almost at once, the property of the Huguenots both dead and surviving was sequestrated. "Why! Monseigneur!" said the Duke of Anjou's agent to him, "we can make out of this business more than 100,000 francs."

L'Hôpital, the late chancellor, had retired to his country-house near Estampes, and was there, says Brantôme, when the Paris massacre took place. "When he heard of it, 'That is,' exclaimed he, 'a

very ill-judged advice which has been given to the king; I know not who is the author of it, but I fear much that France will suffer for it.' His friends thereupon recommended him to be on his guard. 'No, no,' answered he, 'let it be as pleases God when my hour is come.' The next day he was told that a large detachment of cavalry was noticed coming straight towards the house; would he not allow them to be fired upon, and the gates of the house to be shut? 'No, no,' said he; 'but if the small gate is not wide enough to admit them, let the large one be thrown open.'

"There is no doubt that these horsemen had been sent for the purpose of playing him a trick. Acting against his instructions, the servants had the gates well closed. A few hours after another company of mounted soldiers arrived, and the chancellor, being informed of this fresh circumstance, displayed no change of demeanour, but still showed an indomitable firmness at the prospect of death. It was said that his death had really been intended at first, but had been since condoned; he merely remarked that he did not think he had deserved either forgiveness or premature death.

"I had heard at that time a parallel drawn between him and Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, the greatest man who ever held that office in that country; the only difference being that the one was a fervent Catholic, whilst the other was deemed to be a Huguenot, although he attended mass. But the saying at court was, 'God preserve us from

M. de l'Hôpital's mass!' At any rate, whatever may have been his creed, he was altogether a very notable person, and a man of the utmost honour and credit." L'Hôpital had sent in his resignation on the 1st of February, 1573; he died six weeks afterwards, on the 18th of March. Writing to the king and to the queen-mother, he said: "I am just at the end of my long journey, and shall have no more business but with God. I implore Him to give you His grace, and to lead you with His hand in all your affairs, and in the government of this good and beautiful kingdom, which He hath committed to your keeping, with all gentleness and clemency towards your good subjects, in imitation of Himself, Who is good and patient in bearing our burdens, and prompt to forgive you and pardon your wrong-doing."

The result of the massacre was exactly what might have been expected; the Huguenots had been decimated, but those who remained were as resolute as ever; Lanoue defended La Rochelle heroically against the Duke of Anjou from February to July, 1573, and at last obtained from the king an edict less favourable, indeed, than that of St. Germain, but still allowing freedom of conscience, and sanctioning the reformed worship in a certain number of towns.

The wretched Charles IX. died May 30th, 1574. Terrible visions haunted his bedside, and pursued him like the avenging ministers of the wrath of Heaven. "Ah! nurse, nurse," said he to the faithful Huguenot servant who watched over him, "what bloodshed and

what murder! Is it possible that I could have been led astray by such wicked advice? Oh! my God, grant me Thy forgiveness, and if it please Thee, take compassion upon me. They drive me to such madness and agitation, that I know not what has happened to me. What will be the end of it all? What shall I do? I am utterly lost, I see it only too well!"

It seems hardly possible that the Valois family could produce a worse king than Charles IX., and yet the Duke of Anjou, now called to the throne by right of birth, was destined to show that the extreme of wickedness had not been reached even by the tyrant who sanctioned the murder of Admiral Coligny.

CHAPTER III.

FROM HENRY III. TO THE EDICT OF NANTES (1574—1598).

Henry III.: his character — The Balafré — Organisation of the League — Death of the Queen Dowager—The Guises murdered —Murder of Henry III.—State of the Court and of the Church —Henry IV. and the Catholic Party —Agrippa d'Aubigné— Abjuration of Henry IV. —The Jesuits—Irritation of the Huguenots Their Political and Ecclesiatical Organisations — The Edict of Nantes—Its Character and Results.

THE crown of France, at the death of Charles IX., passed to Henry, Duke of Anjou, who had been elected King of Poland in the month of May, 1573, but who had only accepted with great reluctance the

rulership of a nation governed by republican laws and institutions. Brought up in all the effeminacy and immorality of his mother's Italian *entourage*, he saw at once that he could never adopt the manners of a semi-civilised people; and as soon as the news reached him that the crown of France was vacant, he stealthily left his palace of Cracow, without even waiting to settle the interests of Poland or providing for the most pressing requirements of his subjects. On the 18th of June he had crossed the frontier, and the true bent of his character appeared when, after passing through Austria, he arrived in Italy. It was evident that his anxiety was not so much to return to France, as to seize the earliest opportunity of indulging his taste for luxury and pleasure. The Duke of Savoy had no difficulty in prevailing upon him to spend two months in a constant succession of festivities; with the cunning of a consummate politician who felt his advantage and was determined to profit by it, he obtained from the new king of France the restitution of the fortresses of Pignerol, Perugia, and Savillano, the last remains of a conquest effected by Francis I. to secure for the French an easy access to Italy.

From the very first, Henry III. showed in the most unmistakable manner his firm intention to carry out against the Huguenots the policy of extermination which had prompted the fearful massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. They must, he determined, either return to the old faith or leave the kingdom. Too weak just then to levy troops and to stand out as a separate

party, they had found themselves compelled to join with the dissatisfied Roman Catholics, or *politicists*, as they were called, some of whom seriously aimed at restoring peace to the nation, whilst the others wanted merely to take advantage of the unfortunate state of affairs for the purpose of furthering their own private interests, and of re-establishing, if they could, a kind of quasi-feudalism. Amongst these were the four sons of Constable de Montmorency and the Duke of Alençon, now Duke of Anjou, the last of the sons of Henry II.

The historian De Thou has very well expressed, on the one hand, the hopes which France entertained of Henry III., whose courage and generous disposition had formerly given promise of an able sovereign, and the disappointment, on the other, which his scandalous behaviour created everywhere. He entirely forsook manly exercises, shut himself up with the unworthy *mignons* who were the associates of his debaucheries; and whilst the members of the nobility, the statesmen, officers, and magistrates, whose services were acknowledged by all, could scarcely obtain leave to speak to him on matters of government and of public interest, he had gathered around himself a court composed of favourites raised to influence by means which were creditable neither to themselves nor to their royal master.

If we want to know accurately who the ruler was upon whom had devolved the serious task of governing France in the most difficult times that can be imagined, let us turn to D'Aubigné's "Tragiques."

We have borrowed from that remarkable work the character of Charles IX.; we shall now give the portrait of Henry III.

"He was well qualified to judge of the dresses worn by the ladies of his court, and most experienced in the art of love; his were the smooth chin, the pale features, the effeminate gestures, the eye of a Sardanapalus; so much so, that on a certain Twelfth-night this doubtful animal without brains, without modesty, appeared at his ball in the following apparel: his hair, adorned with a string of pearls under a hat made after the Italian fashion, affected the shape of a two-fold vaulted arch; his pinched-up chin and his face were quite besmeared with white and red, his powdered head appeared to us, amidst a number of wrinkles, like that of a painted courtesan instead of a king's. Think what a fine sight it was, and how delightful it was to behold this prince with a black satin bodice cut in the Spanish fashion, in which from the various openings appeared lace ornaments and white facings."

Under such a monarch it is not much to be wondered at that indignation took hold of all those Frenchmen, either Catholics or Protestants, who had any sense of honour left, and that a formidable party of *Malcontents* (such was their designation) was speedily organised. The Duke of Anjou, kept within the Louvre as a kind of suspected person, contrived to escape, hastened to Dreux, and immediately published a manifesto, wherein he denounced in the most unmeasured language the scandalous ministers who overwhelmed the people with taxes, squandered away

the public revenues, and, by keeping in a state of disgrace the most honest and trustworthy citizens, sacrificed the welfare of the nation to their own ambitious views. Henry, King of Navarre, was not slow in imitating the Duke of Anjou. "The Court," said he to one of his friends in a letter which has been published, "is the strangest place you have ever seen. We are nearly always ready to cut one another's throats. We always carry about our daggers with us, we always wear our coats of mail, and a breast-plate under our cloaks. I am only looking out for the opportunity of showing a little fight, for they have declared that they intend to kill me, and I mean to be beforehand with them." Leaving Paris, Henry of Navarre travelled southward, never stopping till he had crossed the Loire, and it was at Nismes that the Protestant and Catholic malcontents drew up the sketch of a formidable political organisation embracing sweeping reforms in the administration of justice and the levying of the taxes, besides complete freedom of conscience. They raised an army for the purpose of enforcing their claims, and a body of German Reiters, marching through Champagne, came to join their standards.

The king's intention, as we have already said, was to trample down the Huguenots; but he was of too indolent a nature to persevere in any course of action, and the *opportunist* system of policy, so characteristic of the queen-mother, was not of a nature to satisfy the ardent Roman Catholics, who saw with feelings of anxiety the perils to which their

religion was exposed. The Malcontents themselves felt perfectly sure that all the danger they had to dread would come neither from Henry III. nor from Catherine de Medici, but from Henry Duke of Guise, who had thrown all the weight of his talents, his undaunted energy, and his unscrupulous ambition on the side of the Romanists.

Without having his father's genius, the duke possessed all the qualities which contribute to make a clever and popular party leader. "France," says a contemporary writer, "was mad about that man; to say that she was in love with him would be too little." As the hero of Jarnac and of Moncontour he had become the idol of the mob, and the Huguenots themselves, people said, could not resist his influence when they looked at him. "These Lorraine princes," said Madame de Retz, "were so handsome that, compared with them, the other princes seemed naught but common men." We are told that in some quarters even his claims as the legitimate heir to the throne of France were seriously discussed. The Capetians, it was gravely asserted, could not be considered in any other light than that of usurpers, and the princes of Lorraine, being the lineal descendants of Charlemagne, were the only lawful rulers of the country. The Duke of Guise readily accepted the dangerous post of leader of the Catholic party. He raised an army, met the forces of the *Malcontents* near Château-Thierry (October 10, 1575), and defeated them with the help of his brother, the Duke of Mayenne. It was there that he received

the scar which procured for him the nickname of the *Balafré*. The success of the Catholic troops would, it was naturally thought, determine both the king and Catherine de Medici to stamp out at once the faction of the *Policists;* but the growing popularity of the Duke of Guise created much uneasiness at the Louvre, and Henry III., fearing lest the descendant of Charlemagne should really aim at supplanting the reigning dynasty, concluded with his opponents a treaty (May 6, 1576) which gave them the greatest possible advantages. Complete freedom of conscience was granted to the Huguenots, with the right of celebrating religious worship throughout the whole kingdom, except in Paris; eight places of safety—Montauban, Cognac, La Rochelle, Saumur, Niort, Saint-Jean d'Angély, La Charité, and Mézières; the Duke of Anjou had, as his share, the government of Touraine and Berry; Henry of Navarre was presented that Guienne; Condé with that of Picardy. Even the Reiters received an indemnity, and their leader, Jean Casimir, obtained the dukedom of Etampes and a pension of fourteen thousand crowns.

This arrangement seemed to all the Catholics a proof of such abject weakness on the part of the Government, that it brought about the famous organisation of the *League* or *Holy Union*, under the direction of the Duke of Guise. The League was avowedly formed to maintain intact the rights and usages of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, and the authority and power of the king. It ended by becoming a democratic movement, which exercised

terrorism under the cloak of religion, and anticipated the excesses of the revolutionary Committee of Public Safety. Philip II., King of Spain, hoping to profit by the civil war between the Malcontents and the League, supported the latter with men and money, and Henry III. also had no alternative but to declare himself its chief, though the real aim of the organisation was to dethrone himself, and to prevent the crown of France from passing to the lawful heir, the King of Navarre.

We will pass rapidly over the events of these years. The situation of the country was appalling, and the question was plainly whether the iron rule of Philip II., the Inquisition, and all the worst features of religious intolerance were to prevail, and whether the various sovereigns of the civilised world were to sink to the humiliating position of vassals of Spain. The Huguenots found a powerful ally in Queen Elizabeth and in the Protestants of Germany, and Henry of Navarre defeated the Duke de Joyeuse at Coutras. Guise, however, marching against the reiters and lansknechts, who to the number of 36,000 had entered Lorraine and Champagne, routed them at Vimory (October 26th, 1587), near Montargis, and at Auneau, near Chartres (November 11th). These successes, like all the other military triumphs of the celebrated chieftain, although making him increasingly popular with the *bourgeoisie* and the nobility, only served to confirm Henry III. and Catherine de Medici in their design to ruin him. A worthless monarch, who spent his time in playing at cup-and-ball with his favourites, in fondling pet-dogs

and heading processions of monks and penitents, could not but feel irritated at hearing his dangerous subject proclaimed as the *new Maccabeus*, the *modern Gideon*. The *Balafré* was forbidden to come into Paris. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the king's express orders, he entered the capital, accompanied by only fifteen horsemen. Two regiments of infantry were at once despatched to hold the populace in check, but barricades were constructed, the whole of the *bourgeoisie* flew to arms, and the royal troops were completely over-mastered (May 12th, 1588). "Vive Guise!" shouted the mob. "My friends," answered he, "you do me wrong. Shout, 'Vive le Roi!'" This affectation of loyalty was not worth much, as may be seen by the following letter which the triumphant chief of the League sent the next day to D'Entragues, governor of Orleans:—"Warn our friends to come and meet us as speedily as they can with horses, arms, and no baggage. I have routed the Swiss, cut to pieces part of the king's guards, and I hold the Louvre so closely besieged that I shall give a good account of all that is within its walls. This victory is so great that it shall be remembered for ever."

The king managed to escape, despite the threats of the Duke of Guise. He went first to Chartres, and then to Blois, where the States-General had been summoned at the demand of the Leaguers (October 15th, 1588). Distrusted by everybody, scorned by the Huguenots, and hated by the Romanists, he virtually signed his abdication when

he published the *édit d'union* which granted to the Leaguers every point for which they contended. The Duke of Guise, named Generalissimo of the French army, aimed at a higher position still. His insolence was too much even for the cowardice of the despicable monarch, and for once in his life he displayed an amount of energy of which no one would have thought him capable. "I have been too long," he said, "under the tutelage of Messieurs de Guise. I have resolved to get rid of it. He who accepts a companion has to put up with the rule of a master." If he could not find any one to deliver him of his dangerous enemy, he had resolved to deliver himself. The assassination of the duke was decided on, and the day was fixed for December 23rd. We shall give the account as we find it in the graphic memoirs of François Miron, an eye-witness:—"All the forty-five guardsmen promised Henry III. that they would put to death the Duke of Guise. . . . Thereupon his majesty, after requesting them to cease from their demonstrations of loyalty, lest they should awaken the queen his mother, said, 'Let us see who amongst you are provided with daggers.' Eight were mustered, who received orders to remain in the room and to kill him. M. de Loignac, sword in hand, placed twelve others in the old closet looking out on the court-yard; they, too, were to take part in the deed, and to fall upon him with their swords as soon as he should raise the velvet curtain to enter the room. There it was that the king intended sending for him under the pretext of talking to him. The remaining guardsmen

were stationed on the staircase, and M. de Nambu, usher of the closet, was directed to allow no one either to go out or to come in except by the king's express command.

"The Duke of Guise had received a number of anonymous letters warning him that an attempt would be made upon his life; he disregarded them all. 'They would not dare to do it,' said he. About eight o'clock in the morning, M. de Revol, Secretary of State, came to tell the duke, who was sitting at the council-board, that the king wanted to speak to him. He went in, and when within two yards from the door of the old closet he stroked his beard with his right hand, turning half round to see who was following him. At that moment, M. de Montséry, who was near the chimney, seized him by the arm, believing that he was preparing to defend himself, and struck him in the breast with his dagger, saying, 'Ha! traitor! you shall die for it!' At the same time M. des Effranats got hold of his legs, M. de Sainte-Malines stabbed him from behind in the throat, and M. de Loignac ran him through with his sword. The duke kept exclaiming: 'Ha! my friends! Ha! my friends!' and when at last he was struck by M. de Sariac, he cried out: 'Mercy!' His sword was entangled in his cloak and his legs were held, but such was his strength that he dragged them from one end of the room to the other, as far as the foot of the king's bedstead, where he fell.

"His last words were heard by his brother the

cardinal, for there was only a partition wall between them. 'They are killing my brother!' he exclaimed; and wishing to rise he was stopped by M. d'Aumont, who, laying his hand on his sword, said, 'Don't move! By God, sir, the king has to do with you!' On the other side also, the Archbishop of Lyons, in terror, clasped his hands, saying, 'Our lives are in the power of God and of the king.' When the king knew that it was all over, he went to the closet door, raised the tapestry, and seeing the body lying stretched on the floor he ordered M. de Beaulieu, one of his secretaries of State, to ascertain what the duke had about his person. A small key fastened to a gold chain was found on one of his arms, and in the breeches' pocket a small purse containing twelve gold crowns together with a piece of paper on which were written in the duke's own hand the words, 'In order to carry on the war in France, we require seven hundred thousand pounds a month.' . . . Whilst M. de Beaulieu was making this investigation, perceiving some slight movement in the murdered man, 'Sir,' said he, 'as you have still a remnant of life in you, beg pardon of God and of the king.' Then, without being able to speak, the duke sighed deeply and heavily in a kind of hoarse voice, and gave up the ghost. A grey cloak was flung over him, and a straw cross placed on the top. Thus he remained for quite two hours, and then delivered to M. de Richelieu, grand provost of France, who by the king's orders had the corpse burnt by the executioner in the first hall on the right-hand side when you enter the palace; finally the ashes were cast into the river."

The Cardinal de Lorraine was put to death on the next day. The Duke of Mayenne, who had been clever enough to escape, succeeded to his brother as chief of the League. He had arrived in Paris on the 15th of February. Ten days before, the old queen-dowager, Catherine de Medici, the evil genius of France, the impersonation of hypocrisy, wickedness, and corruption, died at the age of seventy. It is not too much to say that she must be held responsible by posterity for the thirty years of misery comprised between 1559 and 1589.

The position of the king was not much improved in consequence of the murder of the Duke of Guise; he was utterly incapable of adopting an independent line of conduct, and he allowed himself to drift into that policy of compromise which he had learnt at the court of his mother. He endeavoured, in the first place, to obtain the support of the States-General, but finding them refractory he dismissed them on the 16th of January; he then negotiated with the Pope and the King of Spain; he tried to win over the Duke of Mayenne, and sent a few Leaguers back to Paris, after having treated them courteously and with affected kindness. All these schemes proved futile; the rebels were strong enough, not only to do without the assistance of Henry III., but even to set his authority at defiance; backed by the King of Spain and commanded by the Duke of Mayenne, they fortified themselves, and took possession of the whole country round Paris, with the exception of Vincennes and Melun. Reduced to the last extremity of distress,

having about him a mere handful of *gentilhommes*, whom D'Epernon had collected together, Henry III. advanced as far as Tours, and then found himself driven to the humiliating plight of concluding an alliance with the King of Navarre.

The reconciliation of the reigning sovereign and his heir simplified in the happiest manner the difficulties from which France was suffering; it satisfied the Huguenots, who felt sure that with the re-establishment of peace their rights would be acknowledged, and freedom of conscience proclaimed; it delighted the moderate Catholics, whom the democratic pretensions of the League had irritated beyond measure; it brought to the loyal party the invaluable assistance of the energy, military talents, and consummate skill of the "Béarnese" as Navarre was called. The results of the king's scheme were immediate; Mayenne and D'Aumale, who commanded the troops of the "Holy League," were defeated and obliged to retreat; Jargeau, Pithiviers, Étampes, Montereau, Poissy, Pontoise, capitulated successively; a reinforcement of 15,000 Swiss auxiliaries increased the royal army to the number of 52,000 men; Henry III. took up his quarters at Saint-Cloud, whilst the King of Navarre occupied Meudon. Paris itself still held out. It was resolved to storm the city on the 2nd of August. "At eight o'clock in the morning of that day," says the annalist Pierre de l'Estoile, "Henry III. was told that a monk desired to speak with him, but that his guards made a difficulty about letting him in. 'Let him in,' said the king;

'if he is refused, it will be said that I drive monks away, and will not see them.' Incontinently entered the monk, whose name was Jacques Clément, having in his sleeve a knife unsheathed. He made a profound reverence to the king, who had just got up and had nothing on but a dressing-gown about his shoulders, and presented to him despatches from Count de Brienne, saying that he had further orders to tell the king privately something of importance. Then the king directed those who were present to retire, and began reading the letter which the monk had brought asking for a private audience afterwards; the monk, seeing the king's attention taken up with reading, drew his knife from his sleeve and drove it right into the king's stomach, below the navel, so deeply that he left the knife in the wound; the which the king having drawn out with great exertion, struck the monk a blow with the point of it on the left eye-brow, crying: 'Ah! wicked monk! he has killed me! kill him!' at which cry, such of the guards and others who happened to be nearest, running quickly up, massacred the assassin who, as D'Aubigné says, stretched out his two arms against the wall, counterfeiting the crucifix, whilst the blows were dealt him. Having been dragged out dead from the king's chamber, he was stripped naked to the waist, and exposed to the public covered with gore." Henry III. expired on the 2nd of August, 1589, between two and three o'clock in the morning.

It would be useless to describe here the con-

dition of a society and of a Court which pretended to have risen to arms for the purpose of defending the purity of religion against the dangerous innovations of heresy. The champions of the true faith should surely have set the example of unblemished conduct, scrupulous piety, and punctilious observance of the precepts of morality; whereas their daily life was marked by the most scandalous indulgences and the flagrant violation of all the laws, even of common decency. The Court and the Church, the soldiers and the people had sunk to the same level of corruption. D'Aubigné's evidence may perhaps be challenged as that of a Protestant, but the reader can turn to the "Registres-Journaux" of Pierre de l'Estoile, and to Brantôme's works for unbiassed testimony of the most decisive kind against the state of France under the sway of the Valois. The Cardinal de Lorraine and his brother prelates lived in open sin, the famous processions of the League were a strange and repulsive medley of childish superstition and foul saturnalia; Margaret of Valois, the Duchesses of Nemours, of Guise, of Montpensier, of Nevers had won for themselves a conspicuous place on the list of Brantôme's "Dames Galantes." Duelling, poisoning, murder, were the necessary accompaniments of love-intrigues; M. Victor Hugo's Saltabadil, in "Le Roi s'amuse," is a faithful portrait of a number of cut-throats who used to congregate round the gates of the Louvre and in the neighbourhood of the Hôtel de Guise, ready for a job, and killing any one according to a certain tariff.

". . . Monsieur, je tue en ville,
Ou chez moi, comme on veut."
(Sir, I will kill in the streets, or at home; it's just as you please.)

It is well known that the Duchess of Montpensier gave to Jacques Clément more than verbal encouragement when he meditated the murder of the unfortunate Henry III., and Pope Sixtus V. went so far as to declare, in a full consistory, that the deed of the *martyred* assassin was comparable, as far as the salvation of the world was concerned, to the incarnation and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. A Church which condescends to such means, and has recourse to such arguments, has pronounced its own doom, and signed its own sentence of condemnation. How strong the contrast is between these brilliant but depraved women and the noble ladies who had been won over to the cause of truth, and had learnt the lessons of purity, faith, and self-sacrifice in the school of Calvin! Renée of France Duchess of Ferrara, the Princess of Condé, the Countess de Roye, the Marchionesses de Seninghen and de Rothelin, Madame d'Andelot, Louise de Coligny, Madame du Plessis-Mornay, and many others, have shed upon the history of the French Reformation an imperishable lustre, and it is not too much to say that the example of their domestic virtues had as great an influence for good as the courage and heroism of their fathers, their brothers, their husbands, and their sons.

We have already named some of the authorities which should be consulted with reference to the

history of early French Protestantism. One of the most extraordinary characters which the civil wars of the sixteenth century produced is undoubtedly Agrippa d'Aubigné, the grandfather of Madame de Maintenon and the friend of Henry IV. He combined in himself the most varied qualities, and was equally remarkable as a warrior, a statesman, a wit, a philosopher, and a poet. Although his wonderful "Tragiques" were published for the first time as late as 1616, yet they were composed at a much earlier date, and deserve to be mentioned here as giving a striking and sombre picture of the state of France during the reigns of Catherine de Medici's three sons. It would be a mistake to call the "Tragiques" an epic poem; they may be more appropriately designated as a series of satires, interspersed with highly-wrought sketches denouncing the vices of the Court and the crying sins of the French Government. Remarkable passages abound throughout the eleven thousand lines which compose the work, and the portraits of Charles IX. and Henry III. given in the second book are masterpieces. Neither should D'Aubigné's "Histoire Universelle" be forgotten. The main value of the "Histoire Universelle" lies in the light which it throws on the military annals of those troublous times. Tactics were never more vividly described; never did marchings and counter-marchings appear less tedious or less puzzling. Unfortunately, D'Aubigné was too honest a writer for the days in which he lived, and consequently the second edition of his great work was burnt by the common hangman.

He left also some memoirs full of interest and of picturesque sketches; they must, however, be read with caution, and the statements in them should be modified by other evidence.

We shall see presently Agrippa d'Aubigné taking his place amongst the confidential advisers of Henry of Navarre, who was now King of France *par droit de naissance*, and who was soon to become so *par droit de conquête*, as Voltaire says. When on the point of death, Henry III. had enjoined upon all those present the duty of taking the oath to the Béarnese, urging at the same time his successor in the most serious manner to abandon the Reformed faith, and become reconciled with the Church. Henry IV.'s position was a difficult one; instead of being able to dictate his own terms, he had now, to a certain extent at least, to accept those of the Catholics, and to make concessions which betrayed his weakness. He resolutely, however, declined yielding to the threats of a few courtiers whose own religious profession was nothing but a scandalous farce, and whose spokesman, D'O, guilty of the grossest malversations as superintendent of the finances, had earned an unenviable reputation even amongst the friends and companions of the late king. After all, he knew perfectly well that his real friends and supporters were those who had fought by his side at Coutras and on other battle-fields, and to the pressing solicitations of the Romanists he opposed the following dignified reply: "All of you are aware of the directions given to me by the late king and of the injunctions he made on

his dying bed. He requested me principally to secure equal liberty to my subjects, whatever might be their religious opinions, until the convening of a council, general or national, to settle this important question. I made a solemn promise to comply with this request, and I deem it my first duty to keep my word. Some of the gentlemen belonging to my army feel, I have been told, some hesitation about remaining in my service so long as I do not join the Catholic religion. They fancy that they can thus induce me to desert my faith and to break my word. I am glad of the opportunity of declaring to them here in your presence, that I shall not be weak enough to give way to what sounds like a threat. I would rather this were the last day of my life than do any thing which would cause others to think me capable of renouncing the faith in which I have been brought up, at any rate before I have had the benefit of the instruction given by a council, the authority of which I acknowledge beforehand. He who entertains such a contemptible opinion of me may go as soon as he pleases; the support of a hundred loyal Frenchmen is far more precious to me than that of two hundred who could indulge in sentiments of so base a kind. And, further, supposing you should desert me, I can boast friends numerous enough to uphold my authority by their valour without you, nay, to your eternal disgrace. But, to put things at the worst, even if that last assistance were to fail me, God will certainly not forsake me: He who has shielded me from my

infancy with the view of placing me on the throne. I feel certain that He will uphold me in the position to which He has exalted me, not so much for my sake as for that of so many persons who invoke His aid without ceasing, and for whose liberty He condescends to employ me. I am, as you know, a Frenchman, and as a Frenchman I hate all double-dealing. I do not suppose that I have ever broken my word during the fourteen years of my reign as King of Navarre. Pray the Lord for me, I entreat you, in order that He may enlighten my thoughts, shape my plans, and bestow a blessing upon my efforts. I acknowledge that I am a man subject to the frailties of other men. Accordingly, if I should commit any fault, or neglect any of my duties, pray Him to give me grace to amend, and beseech Him to further me with His continual aid."

With the pages of history before us we know what the declaration we have just given was worth, and the short clause about the convocation and authority of a council showed that Henry IV. was determined to be guided by the course of events. In the meanwhile he found himself face to face on the one hand with Catholics, such as D'Èpernon, who said that their conscience did not allow them to serve a heretic, and on the other with Protestants, like the Duke de la Trémoille, who declined lending their support to a prince evidently disposed to countenance idolaters and Papists. At this juncture, fortunately, Henry was able to fall back upon the mercenary troops from Switzerland and Germany. Twelve thousand of the

former and two thousand of the latter consented to serve him, although they were told that they must wait six months for their pay, as the royal exchequer was quite empty.

In the meanwhile the death of Henry III. had thrown Paris into a perfect frenzy of joy. The Duchess of Montpensier was very busy distributing green scarfs, and exclaiming, "Good news, my friends, good news! the tyrant is dead!" Henry of Guise would have, no doubt, eagerly seized the opportunity of making a bold stroke for the crown. Mayenne, more cautious, proclaimed the old Cardinal of Bourbon king under the title of Charles X., reserving for himself, however, the whole authority as lieutenant-general of the State and Crown of France. With great sagacity Henry IV. then marched into Normandy. The town of Dieppe was surrendered to him by Aymar de Chastes, and thus the king could easily communicate with England, from whence he expected assistance both in men and in money. Caen followed the example of Dieppe, and several other towns of Normandy consented to be garrisoned by the royal troops. Rouen, it is true, held out for the League; and the Duke of Mayenne, who had left Paris with an army of twenty thousand men, increased as he marched on by an additional force of ten thousand landzknechts, expected to give battle to the royalists, and to defeat them. In anticipation of the victory, the Parisian ladies had hired windows along the Rue St. Antoine, with the hope of seeing Henry brought in, a hopeless and

degraded prisoner. But the king was too prudent to run the risk of being crushed by forces so superior to his own. He quitted Darnetal, whence he was threatening the capital of Normandy, and after leaving at Dieppe a detachment of five hundred men, he moved on to a far stronger position at Arques, and there, in a series of engagements, he showed his enemies that their boastful expectations were rather premature. He then pressed the siege of Paris, advancing as far as the Faubourg St. Germain. The victory of Ivry (1590) was still more decisive. The following speech, which he addressed to his soldiers before the battle, has become classical, and we cannot resist the pleasure of quoting it:—"Comrades, if you run my risks, I also run yours. I will conquer or die with you. Keep your ranks well, I beg. If the heat of battle disperse you for a while, rally as soon as you can under those three pear-trees you see up yonder to my right; and if you lose your standards, do not lose sight of my white plume, you will always find it in the path of honour, and, I hope, of victory too."

After the brilliant success over Mayenne and the Spanish troops which followed, there was nothing to prevent Henry IV. from carrying on vigorously the blockade of Paris. Signs of the approaching dissolution of the League were not wanting in the city. The bond of union of the various classes of disaffected had been their intense hatred of the last of the Valois. After the murder of Henry III. two distinct parties arose; the one, assuming the

title of the *French League* and headed by the Guises, consisted chiefly of the aristocracy and of the magistracy; the other, known as the *Spanish League*, was essentially a democratic association, altogether destitute of military skill, and exercising the power which brutality and impudence gave them over a disheartened and terror-stricken population. The reader is referred to D'Aubigné's "Tragiques" and to contemporary authors for an account of the famine which the Parisians had to endure, and in the course of which the only relief they found came from the camp of Henry IV. Bread could no longer be obtained at the bakers'; oats were made into flour, and the mob shouted to the Ambassador of Spain that what they wanted was not distributions of money, which had at first rendered him so popular, but food. L'Estoile tells us that a proposal was made and actually carried out of grinding down the bones of the dead buried in the cemetery of the Holy Innocents, and of reducing them into a kind of paste to be baked as a substitute for bread. All those who partook of this unwholesome food died. Visits were made in the con vents, monasteries, and houses inhabited by the clergy, including even the Jesuits. These measures produced some temporary relief, but the situation was becoming day by day more and more difficult, and the Reign of Terror established by the sixteen captains of the *bourgeoisie* alone prevented the people from opening their gates to the royal forces. "Horses, asses, and mules," says a chronicler, "no longer remained the food of the poor, and the noblest persons fought for a

share of the seething cauldrons in which these animals were stewed down. As soon as a dog appeared in the streets, he was set upon with ropes and nooses, cooked, and devoured. Sermons were the only cheap articles that could be obtained in Paris. Every night some of the Parisians contrived to escape as best they could either into the fields or as far as the royal camp, and in the morning the officers, on coming out of their tents, found themselves surrounded by supplicants, and the ground covered with corpses. 'Bread or peace!' was the cry within the walls of the city. Soon even the most loathsome food became scarce; even grass failed." "It was a lamentable spectacle," says D'Aubigné, "that of the hospitals crowded with people starved to death, the streets lined with helpless creatures, and paved with skeletons, the holy places transformed into stables, some children devoured, the Louvre become shambles for the landzknechts, and the principal hall a gallows." The sixteen captains of the districts into which the capital was divided, the committee of ten invested with absolute power, and the agents of the King of Spain combined to protract the miseries of the siege; and the Duke of Parma, marching from the Netherlands at the head of his army, obliged for a short time the Béarnese to retreat. Fortunately for the royal cause, the Duke of Mayenne, although unable to hold his own without the assistance of the Spaniards, had felt it necessary to oppose the action of their emissaries (1591), and to resist in the meeting of the States-General (1593) the pretensions of Philip II. The League may be said to have then

ceased to exist; at any rate, it was reduced to a complete state of inefficiency, and the abjuration of Henry IV. (1593) dealt to it its death-blow. In vain did the rebels endeavour, even after this decisive act, to keep up the resistance against the king; in vain did they publish pamphlets and preach sermons against the "simulated conversion of the Béarnese," their very irritation plainly proved that they felt themselves undone, and they had no longer any *raison d'être* when, in 1595, Pope Clement VIII. at last pronounced the decree of absolution which reconciled to the Church of Rome the prince who had so long been the champion of Protestantism, and who had solemnly pledged himself to yield only to the authority of a national council. Paris had at last capitulated on the 22nd of March, 1594; Henry IV. witnessed from a window the Spanish troops filing past with colours flying and drums beating; "he saluted courteously the chiefs of all the companies, and said to the Duke of Féria, Taxis and Ibarra, 'Commend me to your master, but never come back again.'" The submission of Paris was followed by that of most of the large towns, and on the 30th of March a decree of the Parliament was issued, cancelling all the laws and acts passed by the League, and revoking the office of lieutenant-general which had been conferred upon the Duke of Mayenne. Cardinal Bourbon died on the 28th of July.

The abjuration of Henry IV. has very naturally excited a good deal of discussion, and been estimated in the most contradictory manner both by

Protestants and Catholics. That it was a matter of absolute necessity there seems to be little doubt, and if thirty years before the accession of a Huguenot monarch might have been possible, it was now utterly out of the question. Protestant writers are undoubtedly right in feeling scandalised at the complete want of dignity which Henry IV. displayed throughout the whole of this transaction, nay, more, at the evident absence on his part of all religious feeling whatever. With him all this abjuration of so-called heresy and pretended reconciliation to the Church was merely a political necessity with which conscience had nothing whatever to do. We have no hesitation in saying that from the point of view of plain morality the conduct of Henry IV. is perfectly unjustifiable. The man who said jokingly to Gabrielle d'Estrées, "Sunday next I shall make the summersault (*le saut périlleux*)," and who was of opinion that "Paris was worth purchasing at the price of a mass," cannot be said to have made his change of religion a subject of serious thought and of earnest prayer. Not only is it allowable to change one's views, even on the subject of religious matters, as soon as one is convinced of having hitherto been living in error; but we may go further and say that the change is an imperative duty. But the suddenness of Henry's step, taken after two conversations with Sully, and when he could not have had time to examine even in the most cursory manner the points of difference between the two religions, is an action which cannot be defended; and this is so true that Hardouin de Péréfixe, in his life

of the king, whilst maintaining that the ceremony of Saint Denis was due to the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost, feels compelled to acknowledge that motives of a mere human character had also their share in it. One thing is quite certain, namely, that the conversion of Henry IV. had not the effect of satisfying the party of the Jesuits; and the attempts on his life made by Barrière, Jean Châtel, and finally by Ravaillac, showed how successfully the doctrines which preached regicide, had leavened the nation.

The Paris Parliament had always been deeply attached to what are known as Gallican principles; the majority of the lawyers and the whole university hated Ultramontanism, and the sad experience of the cruelty of the League tended further to increase that hatred. If to the popular feeling we add the jealousy of rival religious orders, and the suspicions of politicians, we can see that an excuse for expelling the Jesuits would be eagerly sought for, and taken advantage of as soon as it presented itself. On the very day when Jean Châtel was put to death the Parliament issued a decree against the reverend fathers; they were declared to be corrupters of the young, and enemies of the king and of the State; they were ordered to leave Paris within three days, and the kingdom within a fortnight. Father Guéret, who had taught Châtel philosophy, and Father Haym, a Scotchman, were banished; another Jesuit was hung at the Place de Grève on the charge of having in his house MS. documents in which the murder of the king was recommended

(January 7, 1595); two others were hung in effigy. These measures produced a temporary reaction in favour of the Protestants, and brought about the re-establishment of the edict of 1577, confirming those of Nérac and of Fleix. One article alone created some opposition, the 19th, which pronounced the Huguenots to be qualified to hold all public offices; it was, however, ultimately accepted through the influence of the senior councillor Etienne de Fleury.

Nevertheless it was undeniable that Henry IV., on his consecration at Chartres, had pledged himself to destroy heresy: "De terrâ meâ ac juridictione mihi subditâ universos hæreticos ab ecclesiâ denotatos pro viribus bona fide exterminare studebo." With this promise hanging over them, it is not much to be wondered at that the Huguenots should have felt both alarmed and irritated. It was known also that the king had summoned the veteran Leaguer Villeroy to his councils, notwithstanding his previous promises, and although his sister, making herself the interpreter of the wishes expressed by the Protestant churches, had begged of him not to delegate any power to their sworn enemy. Every day the Huguenots learnt that their former protector had called to the highest dignities of the State, or bought over at a considerable expense, those chiefs of the League who had been most ardent in persecuting them. The capitulations made by the various towns which had still held out against the royal troops, contained clauses distinctly limiting the concessions granted by virtue of the edict of 1577, and the

number of the localities where the exercise of the reformed worship had been distinctly allowed was being day by day reduced. Besides, the Parliaments and law courts obstinately refused to the members of the religious minority permission to occupy any office or hold any post; no one could be a solicitor, or even an usher, unless he had made an express promise to live as a good Catholic. The chief magistrate (*lieutenant civil*) of Paris published an edict compelling the Protestants to take off their hats before the Host when it passed in procession through the streets, before crucifixes and images of the saints or of the Virgin Mary. At Lyons all the non-Catholics were ordered to leave the city under penalty of death; the Parliament of Rennes proscribed all Protestant books; the Parliament of Bordeaux authorised the exhumation of the Huguenots who had been interred during the last fifteen years in the churches or in Catholic burial-grounds. The king himself (and this was graver still), in addressing the deputies of Beauvais, had promised to bring back to the bosom of the Church the Huguenots with whom, said he, he knew how to deal.

The Huguenots, thus driven to extremities, resolved upon providing against the danger which threatened them, and they met in a political assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594. We shall borrow from Professor de Félice's "Histoire des Protestants de France" an account of these assemblies, which will show exactly by what organisation it was thought fit to meet the impending difficulties. Huguenot France was divided

into ten circumscriptions, each of which sent a deputy to the general council. The three orders of the state were distinct, as in the case of the States-General. The council-general consisted of four noblemen, four members of the *tiers-état*, and two pastors. The number of the delegates having been subsequently increased to thirty, there were twelve delegates representing the nobility, a like number representing the *bourgeoisie*, and six ecclesiastics. The president or chairman was a layman, the vice-president a pastor. Half the council was reappointed once in six months. Dukes, lieutenant-generals, and other personages of rank might take part in the deliberations without being deputies, provided the assembly allowed them to do so.

Below the general council were the provincial ones, composed of from five to seven members, likewise selected from the three orders of the State: each provincial council including at least one pastor and the governor of one of the places of safety. These councils had to maintain concord amongst the Huguenots, to raise subsidies and apportion them according to the needs of the cause; they were to look after the state, efficiency, and general discipline of the garrisons in the places of safety; to see that they were amply supplied with arms and ammunition. The deputies took the oath of obedience, and the members of the churches bound themselves to respect the decisions of the assemblies, both general and special. There was for all necessary expenses a permanent fund of forty-five

thousand crowns, raised by voluntary contributions of the Protestants. Finally, the general council received the memorials and petitions of the provincial assemblies, forwarded them to the Court, discussed with the commissioners appointed by the Crown the terms of the new edicts, and endeavoured to establish upon a firm basis the great principle of religious liberty.

The assemblies we have just been describing, and of which the one convened at Sainte-Foy may be taken as a typical example, must not be confounded with the synods. In these latter the ecclesiastical and the lay elements were represented equally, and church matters were almost exclusively discussed; in the former the lay element had the majority, and the questions examined, being of a political nature, touched upon the relations between the Huguenots and the State.

There is no doubt whatever that the organisation of Protestantism was a real *imperium in imperio*, and that it tended to maintain permanently the conditions of civil war. We must remember, on the other hand, what the situation of the Huguenots was at that time. The Latin declaration we have quoted above, and which Henry IV. had been compelled to make, placed the Dissenters out of the pale of the common law. Not only were they not recognised as Frenchmen, they were distinctly regarded as enemies to the State, and therefore liable to be exterminated if the king found himself strong enough to do so safely. But could not the same accusation be lawfully brought against the Leaguers? They surely had aimed

at creating an *imperium in imperio* for the express purpose of stamping out what they called heresy, whereas the Calvinists had been driven to a political union for the preservation of their own safety. The confusion of Church and State has always proved the bane of religion. It was fatal to the Huguenots; and yet, when we consider attentively the history of the Reformation in France, we are driven to the conclusion that there was no other course to follow. In all his dealings with the Catholics and with Catholicism, Henry IV. was divided between the opposite influences of Sully and Duplessis-Mornay. The former of these celebrated statesmen was chiefly actuated by political motives; and although we should not be so unfair as to accuse him of being destitute of religious convictions, yet it is certain that for him the question of vital importance was what the French would call *la question d'état*. The observation of the precepts contained in the Decalogue, a belief in the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, and a firm trust in the merits of our Saviour made up for him the essentials of religion; and as these points are common to Protestants and to good Catholics, he did not see that the king need be so perplexed about joining the Church of Rome, nor his Huguenot subjects so indignant at his conversion. The fact still remains in all its force and reality, that Henry IV. hurried over the preliminaries of an act which, as he had himself acknowledged, required long introductory studies and a sincere desire to know the truth. Caution had been the drift of Duplessis-Mornay's advice to the king.

Mornay was a thorough Huguenot, and he was so thoroughly honest himself that he could not suspect dishonesty in others, and the abrupt resolution taken by his master was so cleverly disguised by appearances of piety and earnestness that he really believed it to be the effect of honest conviction. In consequence of his sincerity of character the influence of Duplessis-Mornay was far more dreaded by the Catholics than that of Sully. They first of all endeavoured to bribe him by an offer of twenty thousand crowns. Finding this impossible, they did their best to keep him away from the king, and to prevent him from taking a part in the controversial discussions which were going on. "My conscience is not for sale," exclaimed he; "I could not advise my master to go to Mass unless I went there first myself. What religion do you call that which one strips off as a shirt?" The Romanists were not accustomed to such sincerity and uprightness. "You are better than us," said Marshal d'Aumont to Duplessis-Mornay; "a few days ago I said that you ought to be shot; I am now of opinion that you deserve a statue."

In those times consistency of character and a sense of honour were not much cared for, and most of the political personages resembled the hero of D'Aubigné's "Confession Catholique du Seigneur de Sancy." Of the many pamphlets published on the subject of Roman Catholic errors this is one of the most *piquant*. The historical details which it contains are curious, the sketches of society very picturesque, though far

from pleasant; but the idea of making Sancy himself, whilst he thinks he is pronouncing the panegyric of conversions to Romanism, hold them up to ridicule as illogical and venal, is one of the drollest features in the work. The reception-hall of the Louvre was crowded with Sancys, and as the king looked round at the courtiers who flocked about his person he could see but a bare half-dozen of those who had not sold themselves to Rome. "Your majesty has only been struck on the lips," D'Aubigné observed after the attempt of Jean Châtel on the life of Henry, "because you have renounced God only with your lips. If you renounce Him with your heart, you will be struck at the heart."

The rapacity of the noblemen and influential politicians who had made a boast of their disinterested devotion to the cause of Catholicism was scandalous; had we not official documents in our possession showing to what straits Henry IV. was reduced, we could scarcely imagine such an exhibition of greed, such utter want of patriotism. The Duke of Guise, acting on the advice of his mother and grandmother, delivered over to the king the towns of Rheims, Saint Dizier, Rocroy, Guise, Fismes, and Joinville; but he received as a compensation nearly four millions in money, besides the government of Provence. The Duke of Lorraine esteemed that his reconciliation was important enough to be rewarded by a gift of 2,766,826 livres. Henry IV. had literally to purchase back his kingdom at a cost of more than thirty millions. "Ventre-Saint-Gris!" he exclaimed, "they

have not given me back my realm, they have sold it to me!" No wonder that the national exchequer was almost entirely drained, and that all Sully's prudence and care could hardly suffice to re-establish plenty and prosperity.

The king was rather surprised at the firmness and determination with which his old fellow-religionists asserted their rights and formulated their grievances. The assembly of Sainte-Foy was followed by others held at Saumur, Loudun, Châtellerault, and Vendôme during the years 1595-97; promises or threats, according as circumstances dictated, were the sole answers made by Henry. The commissioners whom he sent to discuss with the Huguenots the terms of agreement had only very limited powers; besides, the concessions asked by the minority were not universally interpreted in the same manner: some of the petitioners merely wished for the reissue of the Edict of Poitiers, with a few unimportant amendments; others, on the contrary, declared that nothing would satisfy them short of complete freedom of religious worship. This hesitation on the part of the king, this deplorable system of compromise was exactly what the ardent Romanists wanted; they took advantage of it to continue their persecutions wherever they found it safe to do so, but were obliged as a rule to limit themselves to petty annoyances. At last the political complications originating with a fresh Franco-Spanish war obliged Henry IV. to act in a decisive manner for the Huguenot *gentilhommes* and soldiers hesitated

to draw the sword in defence of a king who had forsaken and betrayed them. The celebrated Edict of Nantes was prepared and published in the month of April, 1598. The Protestants were solemnly and officially declared to be henceforth at liberty to worship according to their religion; they were authorised to hold their meetings and celebrate their form of worship in all the towns where that right prevailed in 1596 and 1597, or at least in one town or borough in every bailiwick or *sénéchaussée;* the same privilege was granted in the three thousand five hundred baronial residences then existing in France, and in places where the lord was *high-justiciary.* In addition to this, full equality of civil rights was granted, free admission to the schools, colleges, and hospitals, eligibility to all public offices without any vexatious or inquisitorial formalities. A special court, named *chambre de l'édit*, composed of judges accepted by the Protestants, was created in the Parliament of Paris for the purpose of trying cases in which Protestants might be concerned. The *chambres de l'édit* in the Parliaments of Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Grenoble consisted of an equal number of Catholic and Protestant judges. Finally, by virtue of a distinct clause which had been granted several months previously the king gave up for the space of eight years the two hundred fortified places which the Huguenots occupied, pledging himself to garrison them with four thousand Huguenot soldiers at his own expense. Such are the principal features of the Edict of Nantes, and we can easily imagine with what a feeling of irritation

it was received by the Catholic party, which had fancied that the king's abjuration meant, ultimately at any rate, the suppression of heresy. In order to quiet the fears of the majority, and to show that freedom of conscience was really the object he had in view, the king had expressly stipulated that Catholicism should be re-established in all the localities where it had been put down during the late wars. This positive declaration was of no avail; the Catholics felt that, once allowed to preach their doctrines and to celebrate their worship publicly, the Calvinists would speedily win over rebellious and disaffected spirits; once allowed free access to all places, offices, and dignities, they would soon obtain the mastery by their influence, their credit, and their talents. Such an acknowledgment as this was certainly the most disinterested evidence which the Catholics could give in favour of their religious adversaries; they stooped to deplorable means with the view of preventing the acceptation and carrying out of the new law: in some places, at Tours for instance, they ordered processions to be made, hoping that collisions might take place; and sermons equalling in violence those of Boucher and Hamilton, the two rabid League preachers, were delivered from all the pulpits of the cathedrals and principal churches.

The registering of the edict met with the most serious opposition in the Paris Parliament. At last the king summoned to the Louvre the deputies of the several courts, and addressed to them a most energetic speech in which he pointed out the

imprudence and errors of which they were guilty. "Necessity," he said, "has driven me to publish the edict; those who would prevent its becoming law want to revive civil war. It is said that I wish to favour the religionists, and people aim at spreading about false reports as to my designs. . . . Your delays and difficulties are occasioning strange agitations in the towns. Processions have been organised at Tours in opposition to the edict, and at Le Mans to induce the judges to reject it. . . . I know that cabals have been got up within the Parliament, and that seditious preachers are making a noise in many places. . . . In the same way people went about of yore erecting barricades, and thus gradually brought themselves to consent to the parricide of the late king. I mean to cut all these factions at the root, and I will *shorten* (*je ferai accourcir*) all those who excite them. I have got over the walls of fortified towns; I shall clear the barricades with the same facility." This speech, combined with the efforts of a few good citizens, and with the earnest entreaties of sober-minded magistrates and lawyers, brought the Parliament to a due sense of the gravity of the circumstances; there was fortunately no necessity for extreme measures, and on the 25th of February, 1599, the famous edict was duly registered. The Treaty of Vervins between France and Spain had been signed a year before, and thus both civil and foreign war came almost simultaneously to an end for a time.

The Edict of Nantes has often been discussed, but very seldom in a strictly impartial manner. If

we look merely at its immediate results, there is no doubt whatever that they were excellent; it saved France from further disturbance, and secured to the nation a few years of uninterrupted prosperity. But when we inquire into the principles of the edict, we cannot help acknowledging that they were essentially wrong, inasmuch as by them the Huguenots remained in the position of a political body, having as such their distinct assemblies, their exchequer, their fortified towns, their means of defence, in fact all those elements and forces which would enable them to rise in arms against the remainder of the nation, whenever the spirit of ambition took possession of one of their leaders; as M. Poirson very aptly remarks ("Histoire du Règne de Henri IV"), "Part of the national sovereignty was thus alienated, whereas the treaties or agreements made by the king with the Leaguers implied only grants in money and advantages of a transitory nature." It will be perhaps answered that the stipulations contained in the edict were not irrevocable; yet, when the space of time for which they had been granted had elapsed, the government found itself unable, even though Henry IV. was on the throne, to redeem from the hands of the Protestants the pledge it had given them. In order to see how true this argument is, we have merely to consider what was the state of things in France as soon as the power fell into the hands of a weak and inefficient monarch. Louis XIII. was imprudent enough to issue a decree in council ordering the restitution of church-lands in Béarn which the Protestants had enjoyed above sixty years;

the immediate result was a war. Though Henry IV. obliged the minority to keep within the terms of the edict, it was only through his own personal influence and not by means inherent to the royal authority. Further, did the Edict of Nantes protect their existence as a party or their religious and civil liberty as citizens? No one would venture to say so, with history to tell us about the siege of La Rochelle and the despotism of Louis XIV. The fact is the Huguenots committed the great mistake of reckoning too exclusively upon their material resources, which after all were very inconsiderable, and they kept aloof from the rest of the nation, who in turn looked upon them with distrust and hatred.

We shall revert in the following chapter to Richelieu's policy towards the Huguenots; meanwhile let us just say here that he rendered them the greatest service possible in depriving them of their power as constituting a state within the State. The great, the immense benefit introduced by the Edict of Nantes was the principle of toleration which Chancellor l'Hôpital had first proclaimed, but which had unfortunately always remained the exception and not the rule; this principle once recognised could not perish, and not only did the Edict of Nantes secure to the Protestants for nearly a century the blessings of freedom, but it also animated the writings of the eighteenth century and gave strength to the early acts of the French Revolution.

The remainder of the reign of Henry IV. does not properly belong to our subject; it was marked chiefly

by the war with Savoy, Biron's conspiracy, and the king's marriage with the Italian princess Mary de Medici. The well-known "grand design"—a theoretical re-arrangement of Europe—contained in the latter part of Sully's "Économies Royales" must, however, be mentioned here, because it was supposed to be connected with a plan of establishing a Christian republic on those principles of toleration which the Edict of Nantes recognised and sanctioned. It seems hardly probable that Henry IV. should have ever entertained the gigantic scheme ascribed to him by Sully; his idea was simply to deal a fatal blow to the House of Austria by means of an alliance with the states of Northern Germany, Holland, and England. James I., however, forsaking the bold policy of his predecessor, declined to join in this design, and the King of France felt the greater necessity for assisting the Dutch in their endeavours to obtain their independence. Such a combination virtually necessitated, indeed, a decisive struggle between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism; be it as it may, it was frustrated by the untimely death of the king, and Ravaillac's knife, if it did not prevent the war against the House of Austria, at all events altered its character, and reduced it from the proportions of a European crusade to those of a contest between France and the German Empire.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE EDICT OF NANTES TO LOUIS XV. (1598—1715).

The French Court after the Granting of the Edict—Catherine of Navarre; Sully; Duplessis-Mornay—Louis XIII.—Revolt of the Huguenots—The Duke of Rohan—The Huguenots after their Reduction—Their Success as Scholars—Jansenism and Protestantism—Louis XIV. begins his System of Persecution—The Dragonnades—Results of the King's Intolerance—The Emigration—Intellectual History of the Huguenots—Refugee Literature—Leaders of French Protestantism—Men of Science, Warriors, Sailors, &c.—Jean Cavalier—End of the Reign.

It has been very well observed that, if the crime of Ravaillac had not led to a minority and placed the reins of the government in the hands of Mary de Medici, the wounds from which religion had so long been suffering would have been healed, the relations between Catholics and Protestants established upon a basis of mutual forbearance and good-will, and the ambitious views of the Church of Rome effectually checked. At any rate, a season of prosperity seemed to have begun, and if any acts of proselytism were attempted it was on the part of the Catholics, and rather for political purposes than from religious convictions. The way to preferment, to riches, and to honour was exclusively through the gates of the Church; and although the king professed to hold the

balance equally between his former companions and his present fellow-religionists, yet it was evident that men like Villeroi, Harlay de Sancy, and D'Épernon enjoyed more power and greater favour than either D'Aubigné or Duplessis-Mornay. The great anxiety on the part of the Catholics was, if possible, to win over the most distinguished amongst the Huguenot ministers and professors, and the Pope even sanctioned the raising of a fund for the purpose. No one, however, availed himself of the bribe offered in the shape of pensions and gratuities; and although statesmen, politicians, and soldiers yielded to the entreaties of the king and the seductions of the Louvre, it is remarkable that theologians and scholars, for whom pecuniary advantages might have been supposed to be a serious consideration, remained unmoved.

Catherine of Navarre, sister of Henry IV., was the only member of the Bourbon family who clung faithfully to her religious convictions. She was a woman of determined character, and beset as she was by difficulties of every kind, she met them all with cheerfulness and courage. But at the same time she was prudent and anxious not to throw any unnecessary obstacles in the way of her brother, and she generally had the Protestant form of worship celebrated for herself and her attendants at St. Germain-en-Laye. On one occasion, however—the marriage of a niece of Admiral Coligny—she directed the ceremony to be performed at the Louvre and a sermon to be preached. This circumstance soon became known, of course, and led to loud complaints on the part of the clergy of

Paris. The king replied that he thought it a great piece of impertinence on the part of the priests to venture upon criticising his sister's actions, jokingly adding that as the marriage in question was now an accomplished fact, it could not possibly be helped. Henry IV. used to send to the princess the Huguenots who had some complaint to make or some petition to proffer. She acted as a kind of third party between him and them, and usually managed to obtain for the petitioners favours, rights, or answers which they could not otherwise have hoped to secure. Catherine de Bourbon made a most unfortunate marriage. It seems that she loved her cousin the Count of Soissons; she was, nevertheless, obliged to give her hand to the Duke of Bar, of the family of Lorraine, and had in consequence to suffer all sorts of petty vexations and annoyances. As no persuasions could lead her to forsake her faith, it was thought that the best way of bringing her over was to have a public disputation held in her presence between a Roman Catholic divine and a professor from the University of Sedan. This was not more successful. In the meanwhile the Pope persisted in refusing a dispensation for her marriage with the Duke, the French clergy were equally determined, and, as a last resource, Henry IV. managed to prevail upon his natural brother, the Archbishop of Rouen, to perform the ceremony privately. The Duke of Bar was completely under the sway of the Jesuits; Catherine, therefore, saw herself exposed to humiliations of every kind, and she died in 1604.

The great source of irritation for the king was the meeting of the political assemblies; these had not been discontinued, although they were held now only every three years. He thought that these assemblies implied, on the part of the Protestants, an amount of distrust and suspicion which his own acts did not warrant, and without venturing to prohibit them, he did not hesitate to express his surprise and his pain at the want of confidence which his old friends had in him. The delegates of the Assembly of 1605, which had been held at Châtellerault, very naturally answered that the Protestant subjects of the king had the fullest trust in his majesty's intentions towards them. At the same time, in case of his death, they did not know what would be the course of policy adopted by his successor; and if they gave up their political gatherings, it would be extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, to resume them again. The synods, treating as they did merely of ecclesiastical and doctrinal points, met regularly without any hindrance. They proved of the greatest use in showing the vitality of the Protestant Church, and in constituting a species of supreme court where local disputes had to give way to questions affecting the whole of the community. Whilst the Sorbonne was still, as it always used to be, the great educational head-quarters of Roman Catholicism in France, and the board authorised to pronounce definitively on matters of faith, the Huguenots had also their academies, supported by the synods, and frequented by a considerable number of students, who enjoyed the

benefits of the teaching given by lecturers and professors of acknowledged reputation. Saumur, Montpellier, Montauban, Nismes, and Sédan were the towns selected for these centres of intellectual training. The Divinity lecturers received an annual salary of 700 livres; Greek, Hebrew, or philosophy professors, 400 livres; masters in schools received from 150 to 300 livres, and we must note that these sums represented at that epoch four times their present value. All the expenses thus incurred by the Huguenot synods were defrayed partly out of voluntary contributions, and partly from a grant of forty-five thousand livres (*octroi du roi*) which the king allowed annually, but which was not always regularly paid.

The affairs of the Protestants went on thus quietly till the death of Henry IV.; attempts had been made at various times to enlist them on the side of discontented noblemen, such as Marshal Biron, and to induce them to break their allegiance; all was fruitless, however, and it was only on the accession of Louis XIII. that the state of things underwent a complete change: the queen-regent determined upon following exclusively the advice of would-be Catholic politicians, and the circumstances of the times seemed to her to demand the crushing of the Protestant party. The chiefs were in the first instance applied to; those who considered the religious question as of paramount importance, and who refused to abjure, fell into disgrace: Sully, Rohan, Duplessis-Mornay soon found out that the late king's system of government was set aside as dangerous and

contrary to the permanent peace of France. Taking leave of public life, Sully retired to his estates in the province of Beauce, paying only short and rare visits to court when the king required his advice. On one occasion, it is said, the antiquated cut of his clothes having caused much merriment amongst the young noblemen who were lounging about in the Louvre, "Sir," said he, addressing Louis XIII., "when your father did me the honour of consulting me, he always took care to order out from his presence fops and buffoons before we discussed business together." Sully died on the 23rd of December, 1641, completely forgotten by a nation to whom he had rendered the greatest services as a statesman and a financier. Duplessis-Mornay, deprived of his post as governor of Saumur by the ingratitude of Louis XIII., at which De Luynes and Lesdiguières connived, nobly refused a gift of 100,000 crowns and the dignity of marshal of France which were offered to him as a compensation; he withdrew to his *château* of La Forêt-sur-Sèvre, where he breathed his last on the 11th of November, 1623. "During my life," said he, "my sole aim and object has been the glory of God. Those who know me are well aware that if I had been actuated by ambitious views, it would have been easy for me to secure great fortune and great honour." It is a shame to have to confess that long before his death the *Pope of the Reformation*, as Duplessis-Mornay was often called, had ceased to possess any influence amongst the members of the synods; his authority was gone, for

the reason that he always followed and advocated a policy of conciliation. As for the Duke of Rohan, he also became the victim of treachery and cowardice, and the hatred of the Duke of Bouillon, whose ambitious views he had refused to serve, brought down upon him the displeasure of a Court only too glad to punish a soldier who was justly considered as one of the chief ornaments of the Protestant faith.

Henry, Duke of Rohan and Prince of Léon, is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable figures in the annals of French Protestantism during the reigns of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., and deserves a distinct mention here. His attachment to the Béarnese monarch was equally sincere and touching. When the infamous policy of the Jesuits had through Ravaillac's instrumentality struck down the hopes of the country, "Let us mourn," said he, "for the loss of the greatest king that ever reigned, of him who did good to many, and harm to no one. Is it not for me a sufficient subject of regret that this should be the only occasion I have of testifying to my king—and to what a king, O God!—my courage, my fidelity, and my affection? Certes, when I think of it, my heart breaks. A thrust of a pike, received in his presence, would have pleased me more than if I should win a battle now. I should have valued his praise in the profession of arms much more than that of all living captains, for he was the finest warrior of our age. . . . I wish to divide my life into two parts: the former I shall esteem happy, because it was spent in the service of

Henry-the-Great; the latter I deem unhappy, and I shall employ it in regretting, weeping, mourning, and sighing; and for the further honour of his memory, I mean to devote the rest of my days in serving the France which he has governed, the king his son, and the queen, who was the dear companion of his fortunes." Born with all the qualities which characterise warriors and statesmen, Rohan had never any opportunity of distinguishing himself till he had reached thirty-one years of age. After the death of the king, circumstances led him to take an active part against the Crown; he threw himself into the movement with all the natural impetuosity of his disposition, and acquired over his fellow-religionists the greatest influence. They, however, rose against him, and he could never rely either on their fidelity or on their obedience. In the course of the civil wars, which began again in 1621, he displayed all the resources of a superior genius, but met with nothing but annoyances, treachery, and reverse. Finally, his endeavours failed to avert the complete ruin of the party he had wished to serve, and the apologies he published, far from justifying him in the opinion of the Protestants, made them accuse him of the state of abasement to which they found themselves reduced. When the peace was concluded in 1629, he found himself obliged to take refuge abroad; then, weary of exile, he endeavoured to regain the confidence of the king. But his previous conduct and the prominent part he had taken on the Huguenot side allowed neither Louis XIII. nor Richelieu to place implicit

trust in his loyalty; and when at last he obtained a command, he still remained suspected even by those who employed his services. He was alternately disgraced and recalled, and his successes were grudgingly received, whilst the reverses which he met with, for want of ready and generous co-operation, were made a cause of accusation against him. When he was only bent upon loyally serving the State he was supposed to entertain hostile designs. The French Government wanted to send him to Venice; afraid of being waylaid on the journey, he sought a refuge in the army of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, where he was mortally wounded. Thus it is that with the most splendid talents, with the noblest and most disinterested character, he was unceasingly a prey to vexations and humiliations of every kind. The duke has left behind him memoirs of the greatest value, but which are not always strictly impartial; from the point of view of mere style and language they are excellent, and a competent critic, the abbé Legendre, has remarked that "the writer always inspires confidence, even on the occasions when he should be most suspected." No one has known more accurately the affairs of the Protestants from the death of Henry IV. to the Edict of Pacification in 1629; he has explained with the utmost lucidity their position, their strength, their resources, their plans, their hopes, the best way either to stir them up to war or to keep them under subjection; he knew admirably well the intrigues which divided them, and the difficulties which the leaders met with, who had to take into account

conflicting interests, and to wield together, so to say, the most heterogeneous elements. The impartial reader rises from the perusal of Rohan's memoirs with the firm conviction that tranquillity was a matter of sheer impossibility in France so long as the Huguenots had fortified places and sea-port towns belonging to them, and a government of their own well-nigh independent of that of the king.

Another point which must not be forgotten in this estimate of the Duke of Rohan is that he had a perfect knowledge, not only of the state of his own country, but of the situation of Europe in general; this appears in a work entitled "Traité de l'intérêt des Princes," which he dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu. It is curious to see how the Huguenot captain endeavours, in his preface, to check his own disposition, with the view of making himself agreeable to the imperious statesman; it is pleasing to find him honestly and frankly praising the cardinal's conduct when he baffled all the intrigues by which he was surrounded during the king's illness at Lyons.

We have already mentioned the name of Lesdiguières; Henry IV. had vainly tried to bring him over to Catholicism—he yielded to the promise of being named Constable. The Duke of Bouillon himself rose to influence by sacrificing his conscience to the chances of political greatness, and the example of these two well-known officers had disastrous results for the cause of Protestantism. The Court of the Louvre, seeing so many defections amongst the leaders of the minority, resolved upon a decided step against the

clauses of the Edict of Nantes, whilst the Huguenots, on their side, irritated by the constant infractions of the charter of freedom which Henry IV. had granted them, and anxious to get out of a situation where they felt insecure and completely at the discretion of the new government, thought that they could, as in the days of yore, assert their rights by force of arms. The Prince of Condé, whose name had always been fatal to them, and who had not even the recommendation, now, of sharing their religious views, managed to bring them over to further his ambitious designs; contrary to Duplessis-Mornay's advice, they joined his standards. This action was unjustifiable, and, besides, it was impolitic in the highest degree, for it amply bore out the accusations directed against the Huguenots by the government, accusations which they had always indignantly repelled. They were now convicted of fostering rebellion, and their imprudence was not forgotten. The Protestants of Béarn were the first to suffer; a decree passed in 1617 had given back to the Roman Catholic clergy of that district the property which had been wrested from them by the Huguenots; but the Supreme Council of Béarn pronounced the decree to be an infraction of the laws and customs. Reiterated letters enjoining obedience had not been more favourably received, and the general assembly of the Huguenots, held at Loudun, took up the case of the Béarnese as affecting the whole of their brethren in the faith. "We must have done with them," said the king: the royal troops marched directly to Pau, the clergy were re-instated in their property, the Catholic

form of worship once more established throughout all the churches, and by an edict, duly registered in the Parliament of Pau, Béarn and Lower Navarre were annexed to the Crown of France (October, 1620).

The king had no sooner re-crossed the Loire than the whole of the southern provinces flew to arms; the deputies of the consistories met in a general assembly at La Rochelle, notwithstanding strict prohibitions from the Court, and it was unanimously decided to accept the challenge flung down by Louis XIII. If, however, the Huguenots were eager to defend their rights, their ardour was far from being shared by their chiefs. Where stood the old warriors who had so often led them to victory? Bouillon lay invalided at Sédan; Lesdiguières served in the royal army under the king's favourite, Constable de Luynes; not only Duplessis-Mornay, but even Rohan disapproved of an insurrectionary movement, the ultimate results of which they too clearly foresaw. The latter, however, nobly resolved to do his best, and he took the command of the Protestant forces in Upper Guyenne and Languedoc, whilst his brother, Soubise, established himself in Poitou and Brittany. On his way to the south, the king seized the opportunity of placing a garrison in the town of Saumur, which the aged Duplessis-Mornay had commanded for the last thirty-four years. Thouars, Niort, the whole of Poitou submitted at once; Soubise defended Saint-Jean d'Angély for a considerable time against the royal forces, but was at last obliged to capitulate: the fortifications of the town were levelled with the ground,

and its privileges taken away. Montauban and Montpellier offered serious resistance; negotiations were begun between Lesdiguières in the name of the king and the Duke of Rohan on behalf of the Huguenots, and promises held out which the government intended to break as soon as it could conveniently do so. In the course of this campaign De Luynes was seized with a malady whilst besieging the small town of Monheur, and he died almost suddenly. The king had already begun to be weary of him, and the wily Richelieu, who had for some time been gaining influence and carefully watching his opportunity, was appointed on the 4th of May, 1621, to a seat at the council-board.

At first he spread about the report that his health did not allow him to take an active part in the discharge of public business; but his genius and the protection of the queen-dowager placed him at once at the helm of the State. Rohan affected to see in him only one favourite succeeding to another; in his memoirs (1630) he alludes in terms of contempt to the ambition and the insolence of the new minister, and seems to think that his talents were not much greater than those of his predecessors. Impartial observers had been in the first instance all the more inclined to disbelieve that Richelieu's design was to crush the Protestants, because he had inaugurated his administration by an act which was evidence of favourable dispositions towards them. The king, following his advice, had declared that he would not allow the German Protestants to be oppressed, and it was only the events

connected with the siege of La Rochelle which showed what was the true character of the wily Cardinal's policy.

The position of the unfortunate Protestants was far different now from that in which Henry IV. had left them. The treaty which Rohan accepted in their name was indeed a confirmation of the Edict of Nantes, but the places of safety taken by the king were not restored; Montpellier was obliged to receive a garrison, in all the Protestant cities the new fortifications were to be destroyed, and finally, in lieu of his two governments of Poitou and Saint-Jean d'Angély, Rohan was to receive a sum of 200,000 crowns. It is hardly to be wondered at that the Huguenots, full of indignation at seeing the state to which they were reduced, should have accused Rohan and Soubise of treachery; besides, Louis XIII. was systematically violating the conditions of the treaty, and the inhabitants of La Rochelle, more particularly, suffered from the absurd restrictions imposed upon their trade. At La Rochelle, therefore, did the next rebellion break out; it lasted some time with the assistance of the English, whilst Rohan endeavoured to call to arms the population of Languedoc, Pamiers, Montauban, and the Cévennes. On the 15th of September, 1625, however, the fleet of the Rochellese was destroyed: the town fell; Richelieu granted at once to the Huguenots the renewal of the previous treaty, and to the inhabitants of La Rochelle, in particular, the enjoyment of their privileges and the safety of their fortifications.

The breaking out of the Thirty Years' war marks an important epoch in the history of French Protestantism. Richelieu was bent upon crushing the power of the House of Austria, and of putting, in the interest of France, an end to the rivalry which had lasted since the days of Francis I. and Charles V.; but that he might have the greater chance of success in his attempt, it was absolutely necessary that peace should be restored at home, and that the discontented of all parties should be reduced to inability. Now England had become the refuge of all those whom Richelieu's policy exasperated, and the Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of Charles I., was only too eager to countenance their designs, and to give them effectual assistance. Extraordinary activity prevailed in all the English seaports, and Buckingham negotiated earnestly with the leaders of the Huguenots; Richelieu, on his side, hastened the fitting-out of the French fleet, and secured the neutrality of the Spaniards by pledging himself to support them actively in case they persisted in carrying out their projected invasion of England. The end of this fresh episode corresponded exactly to what the previous ones had been—La Rochelle had to submit after a long and glorious siege; it lost its fortifications, its privileges, its rights; the Protestant temples were given over to the Catholics, and an edict was published urging the heretics to abandon their errors and to join the one true Church.

The hopes of the dissatisfied were now crushed for ever. Richelieu treated in the most gracious

manner those whom he might have annihilated at once; he even listened to some plans of reunion suggested to him by politicians who had abjured Protestantism and followed the example of Henry IV., Condé, Lesdiguières, and Bourbon. These schemes having failed, he had recourse to missionaries, whose success in many cases inspired him with considerable indulgence for those who still declined to be converted. Till his death the Protestants were allowed their temples, their academies at Saumur and Sédan, their schools, their assemblies, their provincial synods. Faithful to their origin, the Reformed churches boasted still of their learning and their intellectual vigour: men such as Dumoulin, Daillé, Amyraut, and Le Faucheur would have been an honour to any community; science and literature in their various branches were assiduously cultivated by the Huguenots, but they were still too much wedded to that spirit of opposition and of galling controversy they had inherited from their first leaders, and they displayed in their discussions an amount of bitterness and invective which damaged their cause, and weakened their influence instead of strengthening it. They thought, no doubt, that, deprived of its old means of resistance, French Protestantism might all the more freely publish and speak; and that their adversaries would treat them with a degree of generosity corresponding to the humble position in which they now found themselves. This, indeed, was the case so long as Richelieu and his successor, Mazarin, were at the head of affairs. "The little flock feeds upon rank

pasture," said the latter, "but it does not stray from it;" and this declaration deserves to be noted, because it shows that the Huguenots, having accepted all the consequences of their position, were loyally and earnestly determined not to give to the Catholic majority any ground for accusing them of want of patriotism. Whenever Mazarin alluded to the Montauban divines, it was as his friends; Count d'Harcourt expressly said to the deputies sent by the same town, "The crown was tottering on the head of his majesty; you have steadied it." It is curious to see even Louis XIV. acknowledging, in the plainest manner possible, the services rendered to the State by those whom he was at a later period to persecute so unjustly and so cruelly. The following are the words employed in the declaration of 1652: "Forasmuch as our subjects of the so-called reformed religion (*la religion prétendue réformée*) have given us proofs of their affection and fidelity, especially in recent circumstances, proofs of which we are extremely satisfied, be it known that for this reason they are to be preserved and kept, as, in fact, we do preserve and keep them, in the full and entire enjoyment of the Edict of Nantes."

The academies of Saumur and Montauban had formed ministers experienced both in Biblical literature and in the difficult art of explaining from the pulpit the Word of God with eloquence, accuracy, and a true knowledge of the human heart. Erudition, properly so called, was not neglected, and amongst the most learned exegetical writers, both of ancient and modern times, few can be compared to Samuel Bochart.

"He was," says Bayle, "one of the most learned men in the world; and yet his science, however great, was not his principal virtue; his modesty was infinitely more estimable than all his knowledge; therefore he enjoyed his glory with much tranquillity." The "Phaleg," the "Canaan," and the "Hierozoïcon" have immortalised the name of Bochart. The two first of these treatises are really two parts of a work on sacred geography and ethnology; they are a monument of erudition, and deserve to be mentioned as the earliest effort made to discuss the difficult problem of historical ethnography. The most important and truly original portion of the work is the demonstration which Bochart gives of the affinity existing between the Hebrew and the Phœnician languages, accompanied by an interpretation of the sixteen Carthaginian lines contained in the "Pœnulus" of the Latin poet Plautus. The "Hierozoïcon," as the name sufficiently shows, is a work on the zoology of the Bible. It treats in the most methodical manner of all the questions of etymology, symbolism, and natural history, and its real merits, even considering the immense progress made by modern investigation, may be judged from the fact that both Cuvier and Humboldt often quoted it and held it in high esteem.

In connection with hermeneutical science we may mention Rivet's "Introduction to the Study of the Bible." It lays down the true rules for the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and contains directions which can still be profitably meditated. Aubertin, David Blondel, and John Daillé are best known by

their works on Church history, and on the principal points controverted between the Church of Rome and the Protestants. Aubertin had read all the Fathers when he was only thirty years old, and was one of the ministers the best qualified to refute the theories of Bellarmine and other Roman divines on the doctrine of the Real Presence. He did so in his "Traité de l'Eucharistie," a Latin version of which was published after his death by Blondel, who added to it a preface. Blondel himself was a prodigy of learning. The national French synods named him honorary lecturer, and the various provinces of the kingdom vied with one another in rewarding the indefatigable *savant*, who, when afflicted with total blindness, dictated to his secretary the matter of two folio volumes on antiquities. His chief work, entitled "Pseudo Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes," published at Geneva in 1628, is an excellent refutation of the Jesuit Father Francesco Torres, who had printed a few years previous a defence of the false decretals. The apocryphal character of that document is now thoroughly acknowledged even by Roman Catholics; it has been thoroughly proved by writers such as MM. Guizot, Laferrière, Henry Martin, and especially Hirsch, who have acknowledged the services rendered by David Blondel in elucidating the long controverted question. Daillé's "Traité de l'Emploi des Saints Pères" was attacked not merely by Roman Catholic but also by Anglican divines, on account of the Presbyterian views which the author held on the subject of Church government. It is, however, a very remarkable work; and

although we may not perhaps be inclined to go so far as Bayle, and call it a masterpiece, yet we must acknowledge that few Church historians have equalled Daillé in their impartial appreciation of the Fathers.

Cardinal Mazarin, who cared very little for the pretensions of the clergy, and whose opinions were more liberal than those of most of his contemporaries, had created great scandal by appointing several Protestants to offices of trust and influence in the State. Thus the Comptrollership of the Finances was given to Herwart, a banker from Augsburg. Louis XIV. for a short time appeared to adopt the same principles. By degrees, however, acting under the influence of the Jesuits, he went into an opposite direction, and it became evident that the very existence of Protestantism would soon be threatened. Places of worship were suppressed under the pretence of restoring to the Catholics the edifices which had been alienated during the wars of religion; children were withdrawn from the authority of their parents, in order that they might be brought up in the practice and tenets of the State religion; and lest the unfortunate individuals who had either been converted or bribed over should be tempted to return to their original faith, a real law of proscription was framed in 1663 to meet such cases. The political influence of the Reformation had long been a source of anxiety and of irritation to the government. By the taking of La Rochelle it was completely destroyed, and this result perfectly satisfied both Mazarin and Louis XIV. during the first few years of that monarch's rule. The Church

of Rome, however, wanted more, and it could not brook opposition of any kind, whether it assumed the form of Jansenism or of Protestantism. Port Royal and Montauban were centres of religious and intellectual activity which must be equally stamped out. At the time when Louis XIV. confirmed the Edict of Nantes, the Assembly of the French clergy thus expressed its pretended grievances:—"We do not ask, sir, that your majesty should now banish from the kingdom that wretched freedom of conscience which destroys the real liberty of the children of God; we do not ask this, because the carrying out of such a measure would be too difficult; but, at any rate, if your majesty cannot crush this evil at once, we wish that you would reduce it to a languishing condition and destroy it by degrees. . . ."

It is not our business here to enquire into the divisions which during the seventeenth century rent asunder the Gallican Church, but it may fairly be asked whether the destruction of Protestantism would have had the expected and desired effect of restoring unity and healing the wounds from which Christianity was suffering in France. Discussions respecting the Mass, the worship of the Virgin Mary and of the Saints, purgatory, relics, &c., had ceased, it is true, because public controversy was strictly forbidden; but we have only to glance at the history of the Jansenists to see how strong was the animosity, may we not say the hatred, which within the bosom of the Established Church existed against all other professing Christians. "Why is it then," says Pascal to the Jesuits, "why

is it then, my Father, that you are so carried away by acrimony and passion in this controversy, and treat as your bitterest enemies, and as the most dangerous of heretics, those whom you can convict of no error, except that they do not read Jansenius in the same way as yourself?" ("Provincial Letters," xviii.) "When you tell the brethren of Port-Royal 'that they repudiate the Pope's authority, oppose the Council of Trent, &c.,' they adopt, and properly, the *mentiris impudentissime*, that is, reverend Father, they say it is false! For in matters of such importance as this it is allowable and even necessary to charge falsehood." (*Ibid.*, xvii.)

Condemning, excommunicating each other with a violence of which the two passages just quoted are a fair specimen, Gallicans and Ultramontanists, Jesuits and Jansenists had no bond of unity but their common blind detestation of the Protestant Reformation. Let us once more borrow from Pascal:—

"I begin with that instance of calumny, the very blackest that the evil spirit of your society ever concocted—I mean the intolerable audacity with which you have dared to impute to certain holy women and their instructors that they disbelieve the mystery of Transsubstantiation and the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Here, sirs, is an imposture worthy of yourselves! This is a crime which Heaven alone can fitly punish, as it is one which none but yourselves are capable of committing. It demands also the deep humility with which these lowly sufferers are endued to bear such

an accusation with patience; while the heart must be as malignant as that of the infamous slanderers themselves that can yield credence to the calumny! I care not to undertake their defence;—the breath of suspicion has never rested upon them. Did they need defenders, they would find others and better qualified for the office than myself. What I am now about to adduce is, not to demonstrate *their* innocence, but *your* malice. All I aim at is, to prove to the whole world that there is no baseness so flagrant as that you should be incapable of its perpetration!"

It would not be very difficult to prove that the bill of indictment uttered by the Jesuits against the Jansenists was a true one, and that Pascal's friends were Protestants *malgré eux;* but the only point we wish to establish here is the utter weakness of the assertion that the Reformation was the only cause of want of unity in the Church.

It would be an endless task to enumerate here all the vexations great and small, all the means of seduction legitimate and unlawful, all the acts of coercion which the court of Versailles employed for the purpose of bringing about the destruction of Protestantism. There is, we are sorry to say, a long and melancholy list of *gentilshommes*, noblemen, and even pastors who did not blush to accept the tempting offers made by the king, and who sold their consciences for a mess of pottage. Many people imagined that the quarrels between the Gallicans and the Ultramontanists would tell favourably on behalf of the Huguenots; a formidable blow had

been struck at the edifice of Catholicism, surely Dissenters of every kind would derive benefit from it, and the declaration of 1682, drawn up by Bossuet and rejected by the Pope, would mark a new epoch of religious liberty. The result was exactly the reverse, and the unfortunate Huguenots had to pay the expenses of the feud between the Sorbonne and the Vatican. Louis XIV., indeed, felt it urgent to display increased religious zeal with the view of quieting the Pope and atoning for his own pretensions in the matter of Church government. Now, what better proof could he give of his devotedness to Catholicism than the thorough destruction of a sect which even under his father's reign had been so dangerous? His thoughts, besides, were all concentrated upon reducing France to an utopian kind of unity, leaving nothing but the despotism of an unfettered monarch, and at the foot of the throne the whole nation on a uniform and dead level. What we call now constitutional government was for Louis XIV. an intolerable evil, much more so the republican principles which were deemed the essence of Calvinist polity. Then it might be supposed that the clergy would refuse to a liberally-disposed monarch both their approbation and, what was of far greater consequence, their grants of money. Pride had also a considerable share in this determination; at a sign of the king, at a nod conversions would be instantaneous, and thus his power would be at once blindly recognised. Further, the Jesuits must be propitiated, and finally the scandalous course of his own life must be atoned for by redoubled

diligence in bringing sinners from the errors of their ways. The tide of persecution accordingly set in with greater violence than ever, and all the previous dispositions, edicts, and laws against Dissenters were applied more stringently than they had been. Henceforth no instruction was to be given by Protestant schoolmasters but reading, writing, and ciphering; the singing of psalms and hymns in places of worship was strictly prohibited, under penalty of a severe fine, when the procession of the Host was going on; no marriages or baptisms could be celebrated out of France; no more than ten persons were allowed at public burials; Protestant patients were bound to receive the visit of Roman Catholic priests accompanied by a magistrate; Catholic clergymen abjuring their religion for Protestantism were liable to banishment; the Protestants might not tax themselves for the purpose of maintaining their ministers; they were prohibited from leaving the kingdom under penalty of confiscation; they were no longer at liberty to invite to wedding and christening ceremonies more than twelve friends; they might not print anything except with the express permission of the local magistrate; in the towns or villages where their public worship was allowed they could have only one school under the superintendence of one master, &c., &c.

The list of acts of despotism from which the Huguenots had to suffer would fill many pages, and what we have just said will give the reader an idea of the rest; but when we find the king destroying the financial resources of France and depriving himself of

his best subjects by deeds of wanton violence, we may well ask how much further the spirit of fanaticism can go. It is an honourable feature in the character of the illustrious Colbert that he opposed as much as he could the king's absolutist views, and if he yielded at last, it was because further resistance would have been his own ruin. His great object was public prosperity, and he would readily have extended toleration even to the Jews, who at that time had in their hands nearly the whole commerce of the kingdom. *A fortiori* would he have allowed complete freedom to the Protestants, whose wealth and activity contributed so much to the development of industry and to the success of French manufactures. We find that on the 25th of June, 1663, he urged Louis XIV. to authorise the settlement at Dunkirk of a colony of twelve hundred Baptists, chiefly engaged in the cod and herring fishery.

The history of the Van Robais family is a remarkable instance both of the spirit of fanaticism which prevailed at that time and of the enlightened views of Colbert on religious questions. The Van Robais were Dutch by their origin, but they had settled at Abbeville in Picardy, and had carried the manufacture of cloth to a perfection which was unchallenged. The jealousy of rival manufacturers soon broke out, and as Van Robais was a Protestant, the influence of the diocesan, the Bishop of Amiens, was called in to back the animosity of the French artisans. This took place in 1671, and there exist upwards of twenty letters in Colbert's hand-writing, addressed either to the bishop or to the *intendant* of the province, requesting them

to prevent certain monks, especially a Capuchin friar, Father Marcel by name, from annoying Van Robais with controversial arguments and endeavours to induce him to recant. Between 1671 and 1681, unfortunately, the king's policy towards the Huguenots changed from quasi-toleration to open and avowed persecution, and Colbert urged the intendant to manage, if possible, the conversion of Van Robais, in the hope that the numerous workmen belonging to the manufactory might follow his example, and that the benefits derived from a thriving branch of industry might be secured to the kingdom. The efforts of the *convertisseurs* were defeated however, and the workmen on Van Robais' staff having threatened to leave France, an order was issued from head-quarters expressly stating that the decrees and edicts made against the members of the *religion prétendue réformée* applied neither to Van Robais himself, nor to his family, clerks, and establishment. Colbert's generous and liberal views did not always remain what they had been originally, and he was gradually obliged to yield to pressure from without. An old friend of the notorious Fouquet had suddenly risen into favour, and acquired such influence that his suggestions came to be regarded as expressing the direct will of Louis XIV. himself. That man was Pellisson, originally a Huguenot, and now displaying as a convert to Roman Catholicism the energy which characterises those who wish to stifle their conscience and to give unequivocal proofs of their new-fledged zeal. Learned, eloquent, plausible, he had proved a

dexterous negociator, fit to conduct and carry out the most complicated affairs, and especially valuable to the government as knowing exactly the situation of the Huguenots, their resources, their weakness, and the best way of winning over the doubtful and frightening the obstinate. Pellisson placed before Colbert a plan for the conversion of the heretics, and although the minister appears, from what we know of his character, to have been very little disposed in favour of the scheme proposed, he found himself obliged to submit. It was the time when Madame de Maintenon had risen into the high position of which she availed herself to do so much evil to France; "Become converted," said the grand-daughter of Agrippa d'Aubigné to the Marquis de Villette, her relative, "become converted, never mind how." Le Tellier was named Chancellor of France, Louvois entered the cabinet, Pellisson triumphed, and the fate of the wretched Huguenots was sealed for ever. In 1681 the king expressly ordered Colbert to employ no Protestants in carrying out his plans respecting commerce, industry, the navy, and finances; not only were they debarred from exercising any profession, trade, or calling: not only were they thwarted in the celebration of their worship and the enjoyment of their civil rights: they were considered as outcasts from society, and they could scarcely do anything without laying themselves open to the charge of breaking the laws of the realm. Under the pressure of such iniquitous measures many gave way; Turenne's abjuration and the publication of Bossuet's "Exposition

de la foi catholique" served as a pretext to justify others in swelling the ranks of Roman Catholicism; Pellisson's exchequer, of course, proved for the majority the most powerful argument. The funds at his disposal were derived from one-third of the incomes of all the vacant benefices in France—judiciously distributed, they worked miracles, as his admirers said; lists of the converts filled the gazettes, and as almost every post brought into Versailles fresh proofs of the triumphs of the new faith, the king began to entertain the opinion that the return of the *prétendus réformés* to the bosom of the Church was only a question of months. It is the unfortunate but necessary consequence of absolute government that the ruler is often made responsible for acts which he never knew anything about, and for statements the accuracy of which he cannot possibly verify; Louis XIV. was not told that the conversions of the Huguenots were, with a few exceptions, obtained from the dregs of the people, and that the majority of the persecuted religionists remained as firmly attached as ever to the Reformed faith. He must have had a very contemptible idea of human nature if he really thought that the bribes offered by Pellisson were powerful enough to stifle honest belief, and to render theological discussion quite superfluous.

Great as the success of Pellisson's liberalities had been, it was considered that the work did not proceed with sufficient despatch. Louis XIV. determined, therefore, to put on a little pressure, and to show that

he was thoroughly in earnest when he expressed his intention of establishing in his dominions unity of belief. This was the origin of the *dragonnades*, so called from the troops employed in enforcing the orders of the *grand monarque*. Louvois, anxious to strike a decisive blow, began by closing the frontiers of the kingdom; and marching his forces from Béarn, the cradle of French Calvinism, he scoured the valley of the Garonne, ascended its tributaries, the Lot, the Tarn, and the canal of Languedoc, and occupied the Cévennes. Languedoc and Vivarais were then the principal quarters of the Huguenots. There, accordingly, persecution was carried on unrelentingly, and the horrors which marked the progress of the *mission bottée*, as this dreadful episode is sometimes called, have often been recorded in detail by competent and trustworthy historians. A few facts are all that we can mention here. The usual course of events took place in the following manner: On the arrival of the dragoons in a town, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities assembled the Protestants in the market square and declared to them the irrevocable will of the king, concluding their address, generally, with the threatening announcement that the military force was approaching. Sometimes the unfortunate people, thoroughly frightened, at once declared themselves converts by general acclamation; persons able to read and write subscribed a profession of faith, whilst the illiterate merely exclaimed, "I reunite myself," said an Ave Maria, or made the sign of the Cross. In some towns offices for the registering

of converts were opened, and the proselytes, having had their names duly entered on a list, received a certificate—written, in certain instances, *on the back of a playing card*—which was to protect them from the persecution of the soldiery. The refractory Calvinists had to submit to the most abominable treatment; "His Majesty," said Louvois, writing to the intendants, "wishes you to drive to the last extremities those who aspire to the absurd glory of being the last to change their religion." The intendants, anxious to show their zeal and their loyalty, encouraged the dragoons in their work of destruction. The common people and *bourgeois*, who were considered as almost below notice and entitled to no mercy, were the prey of a licentious soldiery whose excesses might have put savages to the blush. If the pastor of the congregation refused to abjure he was driven out of the town, in order that his example might not keep back his flock. With the view of bringing over the nobility and persons of rank, means were employed which were sometimes so absurd as to become really comical. Thus, at Montauban, Bishop de Nesmond assembled at the house of the intendant, M. de Boufflers, several of the leading Protestant noblemen in the district; when they were all gathered together in the hall, the footmen, who had been placed in ambush behind the door, rushed suddenly upon them, and tripped them up, making them fall upon their knees. Whilst these gentlemen were thus struggling under the hands of the servants, the prelate made the sign of the Cross over them, and this was deemed enough.

The most insufferable torment inflicted upon the wretched Huguenots was deprivation of sleep. Sometimes the soldiers sold it to their victims at ten, twenty, thirty livres an hour. Scarcely had the unfortunate sufferer fallen into a doze than the fatal hour struck, and the beating of the drum roused him again to a sense of his situation. The dungeons to which the prisoners were consigned can scarcely be described; some of them were so built that it was impossible either to sit, or to stand upright, or to lie down. The Huguenots were lowered into them by ropes, and brought up every day to be flogged and otherwise tortured. Several of these unfortunate men left the prisons of Grenoble deprived of their hair and their teeth. At Valence, carrion and entrails of sheep were thrown into these pits. In this mass of putrid filth the wretched prisoners lay with swollen bodies, their skin peeling off like damp paper, more resembling breathing corpses than living beings. When at last the gaols no longer sufficed, Louvois, in order to empty them, sent the prisoners to America in old unseaworthy vessels.

It is not much to be wondered at that under such pressure the lists of conversions sent to Versailles from all parts of France should have been swollen to very encouraging proportions. The inhabitants of Oléron, Sédan, Salins were converted to a man! Montauban and Lyon after a deliberation in the town-hall! Montpellier and Nismes no longer numbered a single Protestant from one end of the diocese to the other! Fifty thousand souls had been won over

in the district of Bordeaux! The dioceses of Embrun and Gap would not wait for the dragoons!

Besides the character of cruelty which marked them, the missions sent with the view of converting the Protestants to Roman Catholicism were faulty from their very nature and their organisation. Instead of resident, well-informed, and charitable priests, they were composed of itinerant friars who made themselves odious by their harshness, their ignorance, and their degenerate religion, in which Christianity was reduced to a mixture of vain ceremony and legends. However, the object aimed at by the government had been attained, and a semblance of unity enforced by terror was introduced through the length and breadth of France. Under these circumstances what was the use of the Edict of Nantes? Had it not become a dead letter? If there were no more Protestants, why retain a State paper drawn up on purpose for them? Chancellor Le Tellier, stricken down by age, and who felt his end approaching, asked the king as a last favour to allow him, before his death, to put the seal to the Revocation of the Charter of Freedom which Henry IV. had granted. Louis XIV. refused at first; and such were still his scruples that, when his confessor, Father Lachaise, likewise pressed him, he yielded only after having consulted with two divines, whose names are not mentioned by history, although they are supposed to have been Bossuet and Harlay de Chanvallon, Archbishop of Paris. The old man sealed the document, chanted the song of Simeon, and died (October, 1685).

The exultation of the Jesuits at that *coup d'état* may easily be imagined. Te Deums were chanted, medals struck, processions organised, and the Pope sent a message to the king congratulating him on the destruction of heresy. In the Hôtel de Ville of Paris the provost of the merchants (mayor) and *échevins* (aldermen) erected a statue of bronze bearing the following inscription :—*Ludovico Magno, victori perpetuo, ecclesiæ ac regum dignitatis assertori.* The bas-relief of the pedestal represented a huge bat, enveloping in its wings the works of John Huss and of Calvin. The celebrated artist Lesueur was directed to paint for the Palais at Versailles a picture commemorating the event. The destruction of the places of worship occupied by the Protestants followed immediately upon the Act of Revocation ; thus the church at Charenton, which could seat 14,000 persons, and had been constructed on the plans of the famous architect De Brosses, was levelled with the ground ; the temple of Quevilly, near Rouen, where Basnage had so often preached, met with the same fate, and the work of demolition was carried on everywhere, under the supervision of the intendants and the protection of the dragoons ; sixteen hundred places of worship were thus doomed to destruction.

History tells us that in the fifth century the Court of Byzantium, ashamed at its own violence, and as if to delude itself, exclaimed that there were no more heathen in the empire ; Louis XIV. indulged in precisely the same fancies. If, as his flatterers fondly tried to persuade him, heresy had been so

thoroughly destroyed, how is it that in Languedoc alone there remained 200,000 Protestants *after* the Revocation of the Edict? How is it that every day was marked by the flight, the imprisonment, and the tortures of the unfortunate Dissenters who tried to enjoy in foreign lands the privilege of worshipping God and of reading the Scriptures? How is it that in the campaign of 1688 Vauban suggested to the king the policy of cancelling all the acts of violence committed during the previous nine years? The illusion persisted, however, for some time yet, but it was cruelly destroyed when the war of the Camisards proved in the most conclusive manner that "those who sow the wind reap the whirlwind."

We must, however, first glance at the immediate consequence of the Revocation of the Edict. The result of Colbert's care and forethought were, by one stroke of the pen, dashed to the ground. At the time when he was on his death-bed, Louis XIV. having sent to enquire for him, he answered, "I will hear no more of the king; had I done for God what I have done for this man I should be sure of my salvation, and now I do not know what is to become of me." The minister, in the agonies of death, felt no doubt that in order to propitiate his master he had too often enforced measures in opposition to his own better judgment, and he saw how the prosperity of France was likely to suffer in consequence of the baneful influence of Jesuitism. It would be impossible to estimate accurately the number of emigrants; it was probably between three and four hundred thousand.

A writer, who has taken up the history of Normandy as his special subject, says: To speak only of our own province, about 180,000 Huguenots left; upwards of 26,000 dwelling-houses were vacant; and whereas the population of Rouen a few years before the Revocation included 80,000 men, it was reduced to 60,000. Trade became nearly at a standstill there as well as in the rest of the province. The little amount of manufacture that was possible rotted away on the spot for want of means of transport to foreign countries, whose vessels were no longer found to come; Rouen, Darnetal, Elbeuf, Louvins, Caudebec, Le Hâvre, Pont-Audemer, Caen, Saint Lo, Alençon, and Bayeux were fast decaying, the different branches of trade and industry which had but lately been seen flourishing there having perished through the emigration of the masters whom their skilled workmen followed in shoals." The emigration from Normandy was, of course, unusually large on account of the extent of the sea-board and of the facility of communication with England, the Netherlands, and Germany; but the other provinces of the kingdom contributed their fair proportion to the exodus. The unfortunate Protestants met everywhere with the greatest possible sympathy; several princes—the Elector of Brandenburgh, the Landgrave of Hesse, William, Prince of Orange—received with open arms the exiled pastors and the members of their flocks who had been able to accompany them; not only did they provide for their immediate wants, but they granted to them pensions, offices, privileges, and favoured to the utmost of their

power the organisation of manufactories, workshops, and commercial establishments, which benefitted as much the localities where they were created as the refugees employed in them. The importance of Berlin and the superiority of English manufactures date from that epoch. And we must note, besides, that the stupid policy of Louis XIV. had not expelled two hundred and fifty thousand individuals taken at random from the population, and the majority of whom might be presumed to be idle, unprincipled, useless fellows belonging to the scum of society: the banished Huguenots were the ablest, the most industrious, loyal, and intelligent of the king's subjects; they were men willing to sacrifice life itself at the shrine of conscience, and the element of morality they took with them to foreign climes is one which told most beneficially throughout Europe, and, at the same time, most detrimentally upon the power and glory of Louis XIV. The Prince of Orange felt at once the advantages which a blind despot had placed within his reach; the French refugees who flocked to the Netherlands formed a body ready drilled, either to fight the cause of freedom on the battlefield, or to guide public opinion by means of the press. Whilst six hundred *gentilshommes* were induced to swell the Prince's body-guard, four regiments of soldiers were enrolled, and at the same time the printing-houses of Amsterdam, Utrecht, the Hague, and other intellectual centres poured forth pamphlets and *brochures* written in French by Jurieu, Bayle, Basnage, and other scholars, and which, smuggled across the frontiers,

despite the most stringent measures and the closest surveillance, exhibited in its true colours to Frenchmen the character of their government and the dispositions of Protestant Europe. Another serious result of the Revocation was that, even amongst the persons who did not belong to the Reformed faith, the *prestige* with which the Crown had till then appeared surrounded began to fade away day by day. Was it right, was it prudent that the prosperity, the glory, the destinies of a nation should be absolutely given over to one man, who might be led astray by the evil advice of a Jesuit, the rapacity of a mistress, or the ambition of a prime-minister? Thus it was that, to a considerable extent, the very evil which the Revocation had produced brought about a certain amount of good; the principles of constitutional government were strengthened in the countries where they existed already, and in France it is not too much to say that the *encyclopédistes*—Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Mably, together with men such as Necker, were supplied with arguments against despotism by the arrogance of the monarch whose proud motto, *le roi gouverne par soi-même*, is still to be seen at Versailles. Before these champions of liberty, Fénelon and Massillon in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church had already given proofs of their sympathy with religious toleration, but we know the disgrace which visited the Archbishop of Cambray; and as for the Bishop of Clermont, in spite of the funeral oration he delivered at the death of the *grand monarque*, the share he took in the appointment of the infamous

Dubois to an episcopal see has damaged him fatally in the opinion of posterity.

We shall have to deal presently with what may be called "refugee literature;" let us notice first that French Protestantism was influenced to a certain extent by the intellectual glory of the age of Louis XIV. Pulpit eloquence began to assert itself in emulation of the masterpieces of Fléchier, Bourdaloue, and Bossuet, and although the features of sermon literature were not the same at Charenton or Quevilly as in the chapels of Versailles or Marly, yet they have their own beauties, and are entitled to a distinguished place in the intellectual annals of the age. We have space only to name Le Faucheur, Drelincourt, Dubosc, Ancillon, and Claude. It is not for his powers of observation or for the searching nature of his appeals that the first of these pastors is celebrated, but rather for the lucidity of his style and the rational character of his method; no one surpassed or even approached him in the art of developing a text, and illustrating it from every point of view. The reputation which Pierre Dubosc enjoyed as an accomplished orator, the firmness and at the same time the conciliating nature of his character pointed him out as a person specially qualified to act as a negotiator between the government of Louis XIV. and the Protestant churches; but it is in his quality as a preacher that he is chiefly known, and the seven volumes of sermons which remain of him justify M. Vinet's verdict, that he was "the first complete orator the Protestants had." Of Drelincourt's reputation the best proof we can give is

that his principal work, "Consolations contre la Mort," went through fifty editions, and was translated into nearly every European language. The name of Ancillon reminds us chiefly of a Prussian statesman, who was minister of Foreign affairs in 1831, and who was equally remarkable as a philosopher and an historian. But *that* Ancillon, himself son of a pastor who had under his charge the French Reformed church at Berlin, was the grandson of one of the most celebrated preachers of the seventeenth century. He was at Metz at the time of the Revocation, and although "Les larmes de Saint Paul" was the only sermon he ever printed, yet we know from the testimony of his contemporaries that few equalled him, and no one surpassed him, as a pulpit orator. The theological discussion which he had with Bossuet, *à propos* of the conversion of Mademoiselle de Duras, has secured to Claude more popularity in the outside world than to any other of his fellow-religionists except Saurin; let us add that by his talents, both as a writer and a spiritual guide, he amply deserved the high repute in which he was, and is still, held. No one realised more than he the ideal of a clergyman, and he combined in their necessary proportions the qualities of an administrator, a casuist, a controversial author, and a theologian.

The result of the wholesale system of persecution organised by Louis XIV. was not only to enrich the nations of Europe at the expense of France, but to found abroad a school of French thought, science, and literature. Of this development we must now take a brief survey, and follow

the intellectual victims of *le grand monarque's* tyranny, if we may so say, in Germany, in England, in the Netherlands, and in Switzerland. As far back as the sixteenth century the system of intolerance prevailing in France had determined a threefold tide of emigration, which continued during the reign of Louis XIV. Those who were chiefly animated by religious zeal, and whose most ardent desire was to hear the Word of God preached and divine service celebrated by the successors of Calvin, took refuge in Geneva; active, independent minds, disposed mainly to warfare of every kind, fond of literary culture and of intellectual life, flocked to Amsterdam, Utrecht, or the Hague; the tide of industry and commerce was in the direction of England, Germany, and especially Prussia. A common feeling united together all men whose pursuits were directed towards science and literature, but several groups soon were formed according to the pursuits and tastes of the numerous Huguenots who in Holland found themselves less fettered than at Geneva. Ardent and indefatigable divines continued against the Church of Rome the warfare they had begun at Charenton or at Quevilly; those who had the gift of preaching soon enjoyed ample occasions of exercising their powers; a considerable number were invited by the academies of Amsterdam or other places as lecturers, and made themselves known by works of erudition; more still devoted themselves to periodical literature, and founded journals of various kinds, light or serious, theological or simply literary. In addition to authors of acknowledged

merit who were really an ornament to their profession, and who contributed equally to the glory of their native country and to that of their country of adoption, a swarm of scribblers unfortunately came over to Holland, driven by misery and despair; taking advantage of the political circumstances of the times, they directed against the government of Louis XIV. and on the side of the Allies a scurrilous newspaper attack, which procured the most unenviable notoriety to the "Gazettes de Hollande."

Bayle and Jurieu are the two best known amongst the French refugees who sought at Amsterdam the privilege of explaining freely their views on politics and religion. Jurieu had left France a few years before the Revocation; he proved himself more than a match for Gallicans as well as Ultramontanists, Jesuits, and Port-Royalists. Arnauld, Nicole, and Bossuet were successively attacked by him in a style which perhaps we should not call strictly courteous, but the severity of which we can excuse when we think of what the French Protestants had to endure without the right of even simple remonstrance. Jurieu represents the orthodox side of Protestantism; Bayle was the impersonation of free-thinking and scepticism. He was far the abler of the two, and although Jurieu's works showed both immense learning and also great controversial powers, yet they are now quite forgotten, because they chiefly treat of questions in which all interest has ceased, whereas the writings of Bayle have considerably influenced Voltaire, and through Voltaire the free-thinkers of the present day. These writings may

be arranged into three separate classes: the first includes the *ouvrages de circonstance*, if we may so call them, originating with the persecution of the French Protestants and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The most celebrated is entitled "Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique sous le règne de Louis le Grand." Published in 1686, it was immediately followed by a philosophical commentary on the words of Saint Luke, xiv. 23: "Compel them to come in." Under the next head we may place the "Nouvelles de la république des lettres," a periodical which met at once with much success. Nearly twenty years before the appearance of this literary review, Denis de Sallo had started in Paris the "Journal des Savants," which has been continued ever since, and numbers amongst its *rédacteurs* some of the most distinguished French writers. The "Nouvelles" were published monthly, beginning with March 1684, and consisted of a series of reviews of such works as the editor thought worthy of special notice, and a list of new publications with short remarks on them. Illness compelled Bayle to discontinue this journal in the spring of 1687, and although another periodical was issued under the same name, yet the really authentic sequel to the "Nouvelles" was the "Histoire des ouvrages des Savants," edited by Basnage. The third and the most important category of Bayle's works includes the famous *dictionary* which created such offence and was publicly censured by the Consistory of Rotterdam. The sceptical vein running through this singular work had already secured a certain amount of popularity

to the "Pensées sur les Comètes," printed in 1682, and which is an amusing instance of the author's love of paradox. This is his reasoning: Some persons maintain that God, by causing comets to shine in the heavens as signs of His wrath and displeasure, wishes to proclaim the important truth of an over-ruling Providence, ordering all things in the universe, and to prevent the development of Atheism, which is the bane of society; but such a proposition is utterly false, and we can refute it by merely asserting that God would never employ one evil to destroy another. Atheism is no doubt a serious calamity, but the Almighty can find against it a safer remedy than superstition. But, supposing that so extraordinary a recipe were adopted as a dose of superstition to drive off Atheism, the remedy would be worse than the disease, because a community of Atheists is in every respect superior to a community of bigots. No wonder that such statements as that should frighten the orthodox, and rouse the susceptibilities of the University Boards at Sédan and at Rotterdam. Jaquelot, Formey, and Warburton have appreciated Bayle's talent with much impartiality, and we heartily subscribe to the verdict of the author of the "Divine Legation," when he describes the French sceptic as "a writer whose strength and clearness of reasoning can be equalled only by the gaiety, easiness, and delicacy of his wit; who, pervading human nature with a glance, struck into the province of *paradox* as an exercise for the restless vigour of his mind."

Neither Jurieu nor Bayle was really qualified to

act as leader of the French Protestant colony in Holland; they had not the dignity indispensable for such a position; they were too much swayed by passion, and they damaged their cause by their temper and their thorough want of tact. Unfortunately, they had succeeded in monopolising the attention of the public, and amidst the din of controversy there was no chance for a man like Basnage. Voltaire has said of him that he was better qualified to be a statesman than a pastor. Whatever may be the truth of this assertion, it is perfectly certain that Basnage showed the ability and the prudence of a diplomatist; for when the Abbé Dubois was sent to La Haye in 1716, for the purpose of negotiating the treaty of the *Threefold Alliance*, he was expressly directed to confer with the Huguenot clergyman, and to act uniformly according to his advice. Animated by the sincerest spirit of loyalty to his country, having no illusion about the future of French Protestantism, but firmly attached to the principles of his faith, a thorough enemy of fanaticism, but equally opposed to the dangerous and destructive principles of Bayle, Basnage stands forth in the pages of history as the model of what a Huguenot minister ought to have been in the days of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. His works are very numerous, and bear witness both to his indefatigable industry and to the soundness of his learning. The principal of them are a history of the Christian Church and a history of the Jews, which latter was translated into English by Taylor, and has been favourably mentioned by Richard Simon. We have

already alluded to Basnage's brother, Henri Basnage de Beauval, who continued Bayle's "Nouvelles de la République des Lettres" with a spirit of moderation and impartiality which do not uniformly characterise the author of the "Pensées sur les Comètes." In order to finish here what we have to say about periodical literature, let us mention at once Bernard and Jean Leclerc. Besides several historical compilations, the former of these writers is responsible for the second series of the "Nouvelles," and left some reputation as a Journalist. A scholar, a philosopher, a Biblical critic, and an essayist, Leclerc was the most illustrious representative of rationalism amongst the French refugees. His voluminous productions are now quite forgotten, except the three reviews which he published successively in imitation of Bayle, but on a very much better plan. The seventy volumes of the "Bibliothèques" ("Bibliothèque universelle et historique," 1686—1693, monthly; "Bibliothèque choisie," 1703—1713, twice, and afterwards three times a year; "Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne," 1714—1727, quarterly) are superior to the "Nouvelles," inasmuch as they contain, besides reviews of books, original articles, essays, biographical notices, &c. We may say, in concluding this part of our subject, that French journalism is essentially a Protestant creation.

The growth of scepticism, to which we have just been alluding, produced, as a matter of necessity, a complete revolution in the style of preaching throughout the reformed congregations in Holland, Germany,

and England. Pastors such as Dubosc, Mestrezat, Le Faucheur, and Chamier, who used in days gone by to address churches the majority of whose members firmly believed in the great truths of the Gospel and the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, did not feel the necessity of habitually demonstrating these verities in their sermons, and of framing their addresses as if they were attempting to convert heathens or Deists. Now, however, the situation was changed, and it would probably be the case that out of four hundred hearers gathered together in a temple at Rotterdam or Franeker a good half, or perhaps even more, were admirers of the "Dictionnaire critique," or secretly converts to Socinianism. This fact gave an entirely new character to the sermons of Daniel de Superville and of the celebrated Jacques Saurin. Applying to pulpit composition the principles of metaphysical discussion, and to the development of Christian doctrine his thorough acquaintance with the Cartesian method, Superville earned the reputation of being one of the profoundest of the pastors belonging to the French *refuge;* and a reader who studies carefully the volumes of sermons which he has left cannot help being struck by the great similarity which is apparent between his style and that of the late M. Vinet. Saurin, in the general character of his sermons, belongs to the same school as Superville; but there is much more grandeur about him than is discoverable in the works of his colleague, and the best critics have even gone so far as to compare him with Bossuet. The misfortunes under which the

faithful were suffering to whom he addressed his exhortations, contributed to heighten the impressive character of his eloquence by giving to it a certain tragical hue. Not a few of his sermons have told upon the political destinies of Europe.

Thus it was that the Protestant preachers, fully aware of the dangers of the times, boldly faced them, and scorned to concede the slightest point to the free-thinking tendencies of the age; very different in that respect from the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, Massillon amongst others, whose Christianity was toned down to the level of the "Encyclopédie," and whose discourses called forth the admiration of even Voltaire.

Side by side with the great men whom we have just mentioned, we may name two writers whose ethical compositions are still often read, and were extremely popular a century and a half ago. Jacques Abbadie was pastor to a congregation first in Berlin, and afterwards in Ireland, at Killaloe; but his reputation rests chiefly on his "Art de se connaître soi-même," and on his "Traité de la Vérité de la Religion chrétienne." The latter of these two works was enthusiastically received even by Roman Catholics; Madame de Sévigné called it "the divinest of books," and pledged herself to "read it regularly once a quarter for the rest of her life." "That admirable book," said the Abbé Desfontaines, "leaves far behind all that has been previously published in defence of Christianity. What conversions has it not produced! How many free-thinkers has it not brought back to

the faith!" La Placette, for twenty-six years pastor of the French church at Copenhagen, shares with Abbadie the honour of having been called the "Nicole of Protestantism." He published a collection of moral essays which fully justify the reputation he obtained, and which seem to us superior to the writings of the Jansenist divine in respect both of style, and most decidedly of the deep knowledge of the Scriptures they evince throughout. In his preface, La Placette apologises for the comparatively small number of professedly ethical works written by French Protestants, remarking that all their time had been necessarily taken up in defending their faith against their Roman Catholic brethren, and proving from the Fathers the agreement of their doctrine with that of the Primitive Church.

In the meanwhile exegetical and historical studies were not neglected by the *savants* of the *refuge;* David Martin revised the old French versions of the Bible, and published an edition which many critics regard still as reproducing the force and meaning of the original better than even that of Osterwald, still more than that of Lemaître de Sacy. A great deal has been said about what is called *le style réfugié*—its want of colouring, its archaisms, its heaviness. This is a reproach which cannot be fairly brought against Martin; his reputation as a writer was so great that the *Académie Française* itself thought it might benefit by his remarks, and the second edition of its dictionary contains improvements suggested by the learned pastor. Beausobre and Lenfant are names which one is accustomed to see always coupled together. Both

were ministers at Berlin; a happy conformity of ideas, temper, studies, and religious principles bound them the one to the other in a friendship which never varied; they produced jointly an edition of the French New Testament with critical notes. Lenfant gave to the world, on his own separate account, a history of the councils of Constance, Pisa, and Basle; Beausobre discussed with much learning the origin, vicissitudes, and characters of Manicheism; the history of the Edict of Nantes engaged the attention of Élie Benoît.

But in taking this brief survey of the intellectual life of the Huguenot congregations abroad, we must not forget that it was not exclusively concentrated on theological researches, patristic and exegetical literature, history, and archæology. The sciences both pure and applied were extensively cultivated, and a number of distinguished manufacturers enriched the countries where they had found a generous hospitality by the results of their industry; Dollond, Moivre, Lémery, and Papin are four names taken almost at random from a long list of celebrities. Dollond, who contributed so much to the progress of astronomy by the perfection he introduced in his mathematical instruments, was the son of a Huguenot settled in England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and who formed part of the French colony of silk-weavers established at Spitalfields. A geometrician called to decide on the respective claims of Newton and Leibnitz about the invention of integral calculus must needs have attained the highest position in the realms of

science; such was Abraham Moivre, one of the glories of the academies of Sédan and of Saumur, the author of the celebrated "Miscellanea Analytica de Seriebus et Quadraturis," admired by no less a genius than Laplace. If Denis Papin occupied the chair of mathematics at the University of Marburg instead of benefiting France by his profound knowledge and his talents as a lecturer, whose fault was it but that of the despot who sacrificed the prosperity of the kingdom to the fanaticism of the Jesuits? It is a blot on Lémery's reputation that, yielding to the earnest entreaties of his family, his pupils, and his numerous friends, he became a Roman Catholic in 1686; but his best works, his chemical lectures amongst others, belong to the epoch of his life when he was a Protestant; he resided for a short time in England, and his attachment to his native country prevented him from accepting the appointment of professor of chemistry at Berlin, a post created by the Elector of Brandenburg expressly for him.

The catalogue of illustrious men in every walk of life connected with the Protestant *refuge* might easily be extended, but want of space compels us to stop; and yet, how can we leave unmentioned that "Providence of literature and literary men," the indefatigable Desmaizeaux? Rapin de Thoyras; the historian Le Courayer, who, after occupying the post of canon of Sainte Geneviève in Paris, obtained a similar appointment at Oxford; the critic Maittaire and the sculptor Roubiliac, the Orientalist Gagnier and the traveller Chardin also occur to our memory; and

when we take up a post-office directory or a peerage, we are immediately reminded by the names of Saurin, De Crespigny, Trench, Thellusson, La Touche, &c., of the connection which exists between the old Huguenots and Protestant England. We have said nothing yet of the soldiers and sailors whose patriotism and courage Louis XIV. not only deprived himself of, but turned against France, and who contributed so much to the success of the battles of Ramilies and Malplaquet. Lord Galloway, we all know, was a Frenchman; Rapin de Thoyras, whom we have already named, served the cause of religious freedom with his sword before he defended it in his works; Marshal Schomberg, also a Protestant, had been commander-in-chief of the French troops. "The gallant Admiral Duquesne, the first sailor of France, was a Huguenot. The king sent for him, and urged him to abjure his religion. But the old hero, pointing to his grey hair, replied, 'For sixty years, sire, have I rendered unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; suffer me still to render unto God the things which are God's.' Duquesne was permitted to end his few remaining days in France, for he was then in his eightieth year; but his two sons were allowed to emigrate, and they shortly after departed into Holland." Henry Duquesne had secretly carried off from Paris the heart of his father, whom Louis XIV. refused to honour by a public monument. The body of that great man had been denied to his son, who had prepared for it a burial-place in a foreign land. He had the following words engraved on the mausoleum that he had erected to

him in the church of Auboune: "This tomb awaits Duquesne's remains. You who pass by, question the court, the army, the Church, and even Europe, Asia, Africa, and the two oceans, ask them why a superb mausoleum has been raised to the valiant Ruyter, and not to his conqueror Duquesne. . . . I see that, out of respect for the great king, you dare not speak."

If the king hoped to settle the question of religious unity for ever by cancelling the Edict of Nantes, he soon found himself wofully mistaken. The result of his decree had been to complicate matters, to increase the spirit of resistance in the southern provinces, and to necessitate there a concentration of troops which could be ill spared from the armies assembled against the Allies in Germany and in Italy. The military reputation of the French nation was waning fast when the war of the Spanish succession broke out, and it was then that the insurrection of the Cévennes added one more element to the evils under which the France of Louis XIV. was suffering. Louis XIV. was astonished to hear, in the first place, that *all* the *prétendus réformés* had not become converts; and in the next, that they had been bold enough to resist the measures employed for the purpose of bringing them to their senses. The fact is that Lamoignon de Basville, intendant of Languedoc, had resolved upon executing strictly and fully the orders he received from Versailles; and the highlanders of the four dioceses of Nismes, Alais, Uzès, and Mende, driven to despair by his cruelty, rose to

arms with all the energy which despair only can give. The rebellion broke out on the 24th of July, 1702, when the Huguenots, assembling to the number of about two hundred, and wearing white shirts over their clothes (hence the name of *Camisards* by which they were known), marched off, singing psalms, to the town of Pont-de-Monvert, in the Department of Lozère, and put to death the Abbé du Clayla, together with a few soldiers who had been left in his house as a protection against assault. The unfortunate abbé had been one of Lamoignon's chief instruments and abettors in the terrible work of persecution, and for a period of seventeen years he had fed with victims the prisons, the galleys, and the scaffold. Led by prophets who addressed them like the Scottish Covenanters in Biblical language, full of enthusiasm, and anxious to avenge both their exiled friends and themselves for the sufferings of every kind which they had been compelled to endure, they met at first with much success, and defeated the local militia sent against them, but they unfortunately disgraced their cause by acts of wanton cruelty. Feeling then that they had placed themselves beyond the pale of the law, and certain of meeting with no quarter if they fell into the hands of their enemies, they determined upon carrying on the war as energetically as possible, and they selected for their commander a young journeyman baker named Jean Cavalier, endowed with talents of a really superior kind, and who possessed the qualities of the most consummate general. The state of things had assumed so serious a character that Marshal de

Montrevel was despatched to the Cévennes at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, and then began a campaign which was marked by the most frightful cruelties, and the success of which was pretty equally balanced between the *Camisards* and the royal troops. On one occasion Montrevel surprised in a suburb of the city of Nismes one hundred and fifty Protestants—men, women, and children—who had assembled to hold a prayer-meeting in a mill; he had them all burnt together. The horrors which had marked the destruction of the Palatinate by Turenne were renewed throughout the south of France: the scaffold was permanently established, and the torture of the rack was a matter of every-day occurrence. "As, during our marches we should have been sorely impeded, at the first alarm, by the number of our prisoners, I took the trouble of breaking their skulls whenever they were brought in to me. The king was then spared the expense both of justice and of execution." Such was the statement coolly made by one of Montrevel's lieutenants, and it is a sample of the heartless manner in which the government troops behaved themselves.

Montrevel found out that the task of subduing the Huguenots was not quite such an easy one as he had expected, and on the 15th of March, 1704, he was completely beaten by Cavalier at St. Chatte on the banks of the Gard; it was then thought best to recall him, and Louis XIV. sent as his substitute none less than Marshal de Villars. Never was there a choice more judiciously made, and productive of better results.

Whilst carrying on military operations with much activity, Villars ordered the scaffolds to be pulled down, tortures to be instantly discontinued, and encouragement of every kind to be offered to all the harmless people who would only promise to remain quietly at home; passports were even granted to those who preferred leaving the country. Cavalier met the Marshal and treated with him as the appointed delegate of the Camisards. Freedom of conscience for himself and his fellow-religionists, immediate liberation of all those who were in prison or the galleys on account of their faith, and the organisation of the Camisards as a Huguenot regiment for service abroad, such were the terms proposed. The first of these requests was absolutely refused, the two others were granted. The king named Cavalier colonel of the new regiment; he was then accused of treason by some of his own people, who attempted to carry on a struggle which degenerated into mere brigandage, and was prolonged till 1705. Some of the most distinguished of the *Cévenols* persisted in support of their principles, others left France, many returned to their own homes. The Huguenot regiment, reduced to an effective force of one hundred men, was marched towards the Rhine, but they fled into Switzerland, joined bodies of refugees, and Cavalier fought with them on the side of the Allies both in Italy and in Spain. He was subsequently appointed Governor of the island of Jersey, where he died in 1740.

The power of Louis XIV. was coming to an end, and death was gradually removing those who might

have preserved it and secured for the House of Bourbon a long course of prosperity. In 1707 Vauban breathed his last—Vauban the far-sighted man, condemned to disgrace for having wished to alleviate the crushing burden of taxation by a more equitable assessment. He was followed in 1712 by Catinat, whose prophetic words cannot be forgotten: "The monarchy is too radically corrupt to last much longer; a revolution is indispensable to reform it completely." In 1715, Fénelon and his friends the Dukes of Chevreuse and Beauvillier disappeared; it may be confidently said that the death of these illustrious men was a singular misfortune for the Protestants; had they lived long enough to be summoned to the council of regency, they would certainly have persuaded the Duke of Orléans to re-establish, if not the Edict of Nantes, at all events religious toleration. As it was, the chances of redress for the wretched Huguenots were still as far distant as they were at the time of the peace of Ryswick, for the plenipotentiaries assembled at Utrecht obtained nothing for them (1713), although their claims were eloquently and powerfully advocated by Basnage. Public opinion was destined to win ultimately what the inflexible Louis XIV. denied, but it took more than half a century to establish in France the rights of conscience and the principles of religious liberty.

CHAPTER V.

FROM LOUIS XV. TO THE PRESENT DAY (1715—1880).

Public Opinion Favours the Protestants—The Regency—The Edict of 1724—Calas and Voltaire—Louis XVI.—Liberal Views of Turgot and Malesherbes—The Edict of 1787—The Revolution—Napoleon and the Law of Germinal—Intellectual Progress of Modern French Protestantism—M. Vinet—Conclusion.

We have, so far as we were able, accomplished the task we had undertaken; yet we feel that this little volume would not be quite complete if we did not give at least a brief account of French Protestantism subsequently to the death of Louis XIV. With the regency of the Duke of Orléans the persecutions continued as they had done before, and although the insurrection of the Camisards had been put down, the provinces of the south of France were far from reduced to obedience. In point of fact, steady and persevering efforts were made by the wiser portion of the Huguenot minority to discountenance on the one hand the spirit of fanaticism which had done so much harm to the cause, and on the other to reorganise thoroughly the whole system of ecclesiastical government. Paul Rabaut and Antoine Court are the two names best known in connection with that part of the history of French Protestantism. Both these distinguished men combined the energy of apostles with

the discretion of sober-minded leaders and the piety of ministers of the Gospel, and, thanks to them, the anticipations of the Roman Catholic clergy were again and signally defeated.

We have already said that public opinion, enlightened by the writings of Bayle and Jurieu, was beginning to take the part of the persecuted minority; but the diffusion of liberal ideas requires time, and the power of the Vatican was still too firmly rooted in France to be destroyed at once. The more corrupt the Gallican church, the greater the zeal it pretended to have on behalf of religious truth; and whilst the Protestant communities were extending their sphere of action, and feeling the happy effects of a sound revival, the government of Versailles was actively engaged in preparing a measure which surpassed in severity even the iniquitous enactments of Louis XIV. We allude to the celebrated edict of 1724, which repeated, with aggravating clauses, the previous laws passed against the Huguenots, and which, completely setting at naught the simplest elements of justice, equity, and charity, took as its *point de départ* the fiction that there were no more Protestants in France. And who was the instigator of these abominable measures? Who was the man so anxious for purity of doctrine and unity of practice?—one of the most notoriously immoral prelates of the day, Lavergne de Tressan, Bishop of Nantes, chaplain to the Duke of Orléans, and an intimate friend of the famous, or rather infamous, Cardinal Dubois. If we open the memoirs of those times, if we read the voluminous

collections of songs and *vaudevilles* which bear the names of Maurepas and Clérambault, we find repeatedly de Tressan mentioned—de Tressan, the shameless owner of *seventy-six* benefices, and who, coveting to be raised to the dignity of a cardinal, naturally thought that increased zeal against heresy was the safest way to obtain the realisation of his wishes. We may say, to the honour of the regent and his advisers, that they refused to consider the prelate's views; but as soon as the Duke of Bourbon was appointed prime minister, at the majority of Louis XV., the measure was passed, at the suggestion of the duke's mistress, Madame de Prie. "At a time when the power was in the hands of a prince who knew neither faith nor probity, and of a shameless courtesan, people were astonished at seeing a system of persecution renewed which the severity of Louis XIV. alone rendered excusable." Such is the view given by M. de Sismondi in his history of France. "The efforts made by vice to assume the appearance of zeal caused universal indignation; the Duke of Bourbon's barbarous stupidity made every one regret the Regent's toleration." In making this statement, M. de Lacretelle ("Histoire de France pendant le Dix-huitième Siècle") merely gave utterance to the opinions of the great majority of Frenchmen.

The edict of 1724 served as a rule for the government in its dealings with the Huguenots till the reign of Louis XVI., and if the prescriptions it embodied had been strictly carried out, Europe would have witnessed a persecution worse than in the days

of Diocletian. Fortunately the public mind was getting more enlightened, and the literal application of the laws against heresy excited genuine indignation even amongst many fervent Roman Catholics—those more particularly who held to the tenets of Jansenism. Religious intolerance, enforced by the State and by the civil power, is always the worst of blunders; and this was never more apparent than in the re-actionary measures carried out, during the reign of Louis XV., by the agents of the Versailles government in the southern provinces of France. Already the power of the throne was beginning to give way, and evident signs of the approaching Revolution were only too visible; but the rulers of the nation took no notice of what was manifest to disinterested spectators. Like all weak persons, they were ridiculously inconsistent, and made up for the laxity of their moral principles by the strictness of their orthodoxy.

The well-known episode of Calas (1762), put to death at Toulouse on a false accusation of having murdered one of his sons, illustrates better perhaps than any other fact both the blind fury of the mob, the detestable character of the penal legislation then enforced throughout France, and the progress made by the ideas of toleration. The steady interest which Voltaire took in this sad affair, and the perseverance with which he set to work to obtain the rehabilitation of the victim's memory, must ever be considered as the most creditable action of his busy life; but it would be a great mistake to conclude from it, either that Voltaire and the *philosophes* in general were

favourable to Protestantism, or that the Protestants worthy of the name had any leanings towards the school of free-thought represented by the "Encyclopédie." On the contrary, the austere principles of the old Huguenots, and their high tone of morality, were far more distasteful to Voltaire than the easy maxims of the Jesuits; and, on the other hand, the followers of Calvin, whilst ready and willing to acknowledge the signal services rendered to the cause of toleration by the patriarch of Ferney, were particularly careful to disclaim any sympathy for his religious views. This is a fact which should never be lost sight of, and which has been systematically misrepresented by Ultramontanist writers, anxious to group together under the same denomination of unbelievers Christians such as Luther and Melancthon, and free-thinkers such as Rousseau and Diderot.

The reign of Louis XVI. brought to power Turgot and Malesherbes, two men who more than any of their contemporaries understood the full meaning of the word *toleration*, and were determined to apply it as extensively as they could. The king, on his coronation-day, had of course to pledge himself to the destruction of heresy, and it was the Archbishop of Toulouse, Loménie de Brienne, who urged him to drive out error from its last hiding-places. Expressions like these, however, had become merely a dead letter, and it would have been utterly impossible to carry them out without stirring up a spirit of the bitterest opposition. As early as the year 1754 Turgot demanded the separation of Church and State,

and whilst the prelates of the Establishment insisted more than ever upon the absolute stamping out of Protestantism, he endeavoured to prove that the best guarantee of peace, good order, and prosperity for the country was the restoring of the Dissenters to their civil and political rights. "Religious assemblies," he said very wisely, "are dangerous so long as they are forbidden; the best way to render them harmless is to tolerate them."

If the resolution of Louis XVI. had been as determined as his intentions were pure and upright, the rehabilitation of Dissenters would have been quickly proclaimed; but he was scrupulously afraid of even seeming to censure the acts of the kings, his predecessors, and, besides, he was continually hampered by religious prejudices. Baron de Breteuil and Malesherbes, under these circumstances, set about to try and defend the principle of liberty by formal discussions, and by arraying on their side a whole army of proofs, corollaries, and deductions. Breteuil was minister of the royal household; in that capacity he enjoyed the privilege of constant access to Louis XVI., and he directed the well-known historian, Rulhières, to prepare a work entitled "Éclaircissements historiques sur les Causes de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes," in addition to a memoir, which he drew up himself, on the imperative necessity of giving back to the Protestants their civil rights. This took place in 1786. At the same time, Lamoignon de Malesherbes pointed out in the strongest manner the duty of legalising the marriages of Dissenters, adding to his

written remonstrances the sketch of a bill to be discussed and sanctioned by the king. Malesherbes belonged to the same family as the notorious Lamoignon de Basville, the arch-persecutor of the *Cévenols*. "I am bound," said he, "to do a good turn to the Protestants; my ancestor did them so much harm!" The appointment of a Protestant, Necker, to one of the highest posts in the State, was an additional proof of the new spirit which for some time had begun to leaven French society; and there is no doubt that the events of the American War had the effect of making the principles of religious liberty still more popular. When the Notables assembled in 1787, the Marquis de Lafayette asked leave to read a memoir of his own on the Protestant question, and his motion was unanimously adopted.

At last, in November, 1787, the edict of toleration was issued, notwithstanding the strenuous resistance of the Paris parliament. The preamble stated that the right of public worship should be still exclusively enjoyed by the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, and the concessions made to the Dissenters were limited to four different things: 1st, Right of residence in France and of carrying on a trade, profession, or occupation; 2nd, Right of contracting legal marriages before a magistrate; 3rd, Authorisation to obtain from the local judge a certificate of birth; 4th, Provision for the burial of persons who cannot be interred according to the Roman Catholic liturgy.

These four clauses, at a hasty glance, do not seem to amount to much, but they virtually implied all the

rest, and the Protestants knew this perfectly well. If their legal existence was acknowledged, it became difficult, not to say impossible, to prevent them from having spiritual guides; and if they were allowed family worship and meetings for edification in common, how could assemblies on a larger scale, in buildings reserved for the purpose, be forbidden? The advantages thus obtained, both directly and indirectly, were clearly understood, and a new era seemed to have begun for the French Protestants. They reconstituted themselves, and it was remarked that in spite of the persecutions from which they had so long suffered, and the strenuous efforts they were obliged to make for the purpose of recovering lost ground, they soon asserted their position as the happiest, most thriving, and most moral part of the nation.

The early revolutionary movement would, naturally speaking, only tend to consolidate this state of things. Rabaut-Saint-Etienne and other distinguished Huguenots were elected members of the National and Constituent Assemblies, and their presence amongst the accredited representatives of France gave additional force to the eloquent efforts made by Mirabeau to remove the last religious disabilities which were still weighing upon the minority. Troubles had not entirely ceased, however, and Talleyrand's proposition, carried on the 2nd of November, 1789, for the sale of Church property, created an amount of opposition which can scarcely be imagined. The Roman Catholics affected to regard this measure as a kind of reprisals exercised by the Protestants, and as the first blow in

a campaign organised against Christianity itself. Disturbances broke out in various places, and what is known as *la Bagarre de Nismes* (the Nismes Riot) made it quite evident that the religious question was merely a pretext designed to cover the plans of the re-actionists. The clergy, far from countenancing or abetting these disturbances, opposed them in the most honourable manner, and several *curés* holding benefices in the neighbourhood of Nismes even volunteered to head the National Guards who had been called out with the view of restoring order.

The suppression of every form of worship during the Reign of Terror affected, as a matter of course, both Catholics and Protestants alike; and although Article 22 of the Constitution of 1793 guaranteed to all Frenchmen the right of professing their religion without let or hindrance, the influence of mob-government made that declaration a mere empty, meaningless phrase; so true it is that despotism remains the same whether it is exercised by one irresponsible man or by the multitude.

It was high time that such confusion should come to an end, and that the excellent work accomplished by the National Assembly should be separated from the arbitrary measures enforced in the notorious "Committee of Public Safety." Napoleon had no easy task when he attempted to re-construct society, and it was an unfortunate circumstance in the history of the Church that a *régime* of blind submission was accepted, nay, welcomed as a blessing, after the saturnalia of Terrorism. The law of Germinal 18, year X. (April

7th, 1802), prepared chiefly by Portalis, proclaimed, it is true, the complete equality of all religions in the face of the law, but it was the equality of slavery. Calvinists, Lutherans, and Jews enjoyed exactly the same status as the Roman Catholic majority; *pasteurs* and rabbis stood precisely on the same level; but they had to pay dearly for the apparently comfortable position they had been promoted to as public functionaries, and as the salaried servants of the Imperial Government. Religious meetings were strictly prohibited, except those officially settled and held within the walls of the temples, churches, and synagogues. *Methodism* was tabooed in every form and shape, and Talleyrand's proverbial recommendation, *Surtout point de zèle*, was not only urged as a piece of advice, but insisted upon as an absolute order; no synods were allowed, no provincial councils or assemblies, nothing which could remind the Protestants of the autonomy which Henry IV. had sanctioned, and Louis XIII. had tolerated.

Even under the *régime* of the later Bourbons, and of the monarchy of 1830, the system of restriction inaugurated by Napoleon was continued, and the numerous lawsuits resulting from the attempts to open independent churches in various localities showed how ignorant the French people still were of the very elements of religious freedom. The laws of Germinal still regulate the relations between the Church and the State; and although just at present, out of animosity against the Jesuits and the spirit of Clericalism, a greater amount of liberty is granted

to the Protestants, yet this is merely an extra-legal concession which can be revoked, and which will probably be withdrawn, so soon as the Roman Catholic Church appears to be stamped out.

In the meanwhile, the religious revival of 1827—1830, to which the brothers Haldane so powerfully contributed, roused the French Protestants from the slough of Socinianism and of infidelity into which they had sunk. Bible, tract, and missionary societies were established, Sunday schools opened everywhere, provident and philanthropic institutions organised, and in this Christian work Dissenters of every shade—Wesleyans, Baptists, Congregationalists—co-operated heartily with the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, which preferred the ecclesiastical discipline officially recognised and paid by the State.

The intellectual progress of French Protestantism since the Revolution remains to be briefly noticed. We have already mentioned the name of Necker; can we forget here the gifted *Corinne*, the heroic woman who maintained so nobly the rights of conscience in defiance of Napoleon? A place also must be reserved for Madame de Staël's daughter, the Duchess of Broglie, whose premature death deprived Gospel Christianity in France of one of its staunchest supporters. The venerable Cellérier, at Satigny, in Switzerland, and Samuel Vincent, at Montauban, had shown conclusively that earnest preaching is not incompatible with purity of style and force of argument. MM. Monod, Grandpierre, Verny, and Coquerel had also distinguished themselves as pulpit orators of the

highest merit; but the celebrated Alexandre Vinet claims the distinction of having revolutionised homiletic literature, and finally broken through the old traditional mould into which all sermons till then had been uniformly cast. As a politician, a divine, a literary critic, and a pastor, M. Vinet has left a name which is not likely to perish; and although he belongs to the canton of Vaud by his birth, yet, when death struck him down in 1847, France felt that one of its most eminent and honoured children had disappeared. Great as he was in the sphere of theology, we question very much whether he was not more distinguished still as a critic. His strict impartiality, his keen admiration for the beautiful and the true, his intense horror of everything approaching trickery and charlatanism, secured for him the respect even of those who might be inclined to dissent from many of his conclusions, and none appreciated him more than Châteaubriand, Sainte-Beuve, Lamartine, and Victor Hugo. He was one of the principal contributors to the newspaper, "Le Semeur," which, together with the "Archives du Christianisme," restored in an improved way the glorious traditions of Huguenot journalism. Amongst more recent preachers, it would be unfair not to mention, at any rate, MM. Bersier, Dhombres, Puaux, and Edmond de Pressensé, who has also earned in the sphere of Church history a conspicuous place by numerous important works.

Baron de Staël, MM. Stapfer, Pelet de la Lozère, Benjamin Constant, de Daunant, Agénor de Gasparin, and especially M. Guizot, would each one deserve a

long and distinct mention, to say nothing of *savants* like Cuvier, or philosophers such as MM. Matter, Bartholmèss, and Secretan. It is universally recognised that the development of historical studies is one of the most striking features in the French nineteenth century. The impulse had been given by M. Augustin Thierry, M. Michelet, and the illustrious author of the "Lectures on Civilisation." Many Protestant *littérateurs* have contributed to this movement—M. Jules Bonnet, for instance, the editor of "Calvin's Correspondence;" M. Waddington, the author of an excellent monograph of Ramus; M. Charles Coquerel, and others. About ten years ago, two brothers, MM. Eugène and Émile Haag, conceived the plan of editing, under the title, "La France Protestante," a biographical dictionary, in which every Huguenot family should find its place, its memoirs, and its traditions. This excellent work, now being reprinted, with additions, corrections, and improvements of every kind, may be confidently presented to all those who ask with a sneer what good the Reformation has done for France, from the social, the moral, or the intellectual point of view. "Vos ancêtres," some one contemptuously said, "où sont-ils?" They are contained in these ten volumes, we answer; and if we feel proud of our generals, our statesmen, our philosophers, our divines, we perhaps value still more the martyrs who, otherwise unknown to fame, and commemorated by one single line in "La France Protestante," helped with their blood in establishing the great principle of religious freedom. We might, in the course of this brief sketch, have often

stopped to refute the attacks that have been directed against Protestantism in general, and the French Protestants in particular, but we have refrained from so doing. Amongst many grievances put forth by Roman Catholics is one which Calvin already took notice of in the prefatory letter addressed to Francis I., and which forms the introduction to his "Institution Chrétienne." It had been asserted, and it is asserted still, that Protestantism necessarily leads to Republican theories in government. Surely the examples of Prussia, England, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland are there to prove the contrary. Protestantism and Liberalism in polities are, it is true, correlative terms; but with the pages of history before us, it would be easy to show that Liberalism is not necessarily pure Democracy; at any rate, the vitality of Protestantism in France, despite the severest persecutions that can be imagined, is a circumstance which, while it cannot be denied, fills us with hope for the future; and we may well conclude this volume with Théodore de Bèze's noble words to the King of Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon: "Sir, it is the part of the Church of God to endure blows, and not to deal them; but your Majesty will please to remember that it is an anvil which has already worn out many a hammer."

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